

JPRS 71451

12 July 1978

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TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST
No. 7, MAY 1978

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No. 7, May 1978

Translations from the Russian-language theoretical organ of the CPSU Central Committee published in Moscow (18 issues per year). Where certain articles, reprinted from other Russian-language sources, are not translated, indication of this fact is made in the table of contents.

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PUBLICATION DATA

English title : TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST, No 7,
May 1978

Russian title : KOMMUNIST

Author (s) : A. Kirilenko, G. Volkov et al.

Editor (s) : R. I. Kosolapov

Publishing House : Izdatel'stvo "PRAVDA"

Place of Publication : Moscow

Date of Publication : May, 1978

Signed to press : May 4, 1978

Copies : 997,000

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1978

FROM THE LITERARY HERITAGE OF THE FOUNDERS OF SCIENTIFIC COMMUNISM

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 7, May 1978 pp 3-9

[First publication of part of a manuscript by Karl Marx by the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism]

[Text] Sections dealing with the theory of surplus value which, as defined by V. I. Lenin, is "the cornerstone of Marx's economic theory," play the main role in K. Marx's manuscripts on economics, reflecting the stages in the writing of "Das Kapital," and in "Das Kapital" itself.

This is the first publication of a part of a manuscript written between 1861 and 1863 (second draft of "Das Kapital"). It contains a study of profit as a particular form of surplus value.

In this manuscript, which supplements Volume 3 of "Das Kapital," Marx paid considerable attention to explaining the qualitative characteristics of profit, regulating the mechanism of the capitalist economy, and the mystifying production relations under capitalism which conceal its nature, and the "secret" of capitalist exploitation.

The origin of surplus value based on unpaid for labor performed by hired workers--its only source--is totally concealed under the form of profit. Capital operates as a certain "self-acting automaton" for enriching the owner of productive capital. The productive forces of labor act as the productive forces of capital. Materials dominate labor and manpower becomes a commodity.

In this section Marx proves that the minds of the capitalists and the bourgeois economists who express their interests are totally focused on the preservation of the system of private ownership relations. As to the hired worker who, as Marx points out, is on the other side, as the oppressed

party, capitalist practice objectively forces him to oppose the system of such relations and, consequently, its corresponding ideological concepts, views, and ways of thinking. The exploiting nature of capitalism objectively contributes to the development of the class awareness of the proletariat, motivating it to rise against the tyranny of the bourgeois state.

This material was prepared for publication by V. S. Vygodskiy and S. M. Grigor'yan, senior scientific associates, CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism.

Surplus Value and Profit, by Karl Marx

The movement of capital, considered in its totality (integrity) (or to its fullest extent) (or in its entirety), is a combination of the production and turnover processes.

The surplus value produced in the course of any specific turnover period (let us take as a measure one year, for example; see above, Chapter II)¹, measured in terms of the advanced overall capital, is known as profit. (Here the concept of profit includes not only the interest which, as we know, is only part of the overall profit, but land rental which is nothing but part (profit) of capital used in farming. In precisely the same manner this capital is, as the result of the special area of its application, specific and applies to land ownership. Let us only emphasize here that profits should not be considered to mean exclusively so-called industrial or commercial profit.)

Considered from the viewpoint of its substance, profit is nothing but surplus value itself. Profit, considered from the viewpoint of its absolute value, is equally not different from the surplus value which is produced by capital as a result of its turnover in the course of a specific period of time. Profit represents surplus value computed differently. In terms of its nature surplus value applies and, therefore, is computed in terms of that part of the advanced capital as a result of whose turnover it arises. In this case, to the extent to which it differs from production time, the turnover time is taken into consideration only as a limit for the creation of surplus value. Conversely, in its profit aspect surplus value is considered and, therefore, measured not in terms of a certain percentage of advanced capital but in terms of the entire advanced capital, regardless of the entirely different role which its various components play in the creation of the surplus value and, in general, in producing the value of the commodity.

Thus, let us assume that a capital equals 600 talers. The permanent share of the capital, namely, the raw material and the machines, will account for five-sixths of this amount; the variable part invested in wages will account for the remaining one-sixth. If the surplus value produced in one year equals 60 talers, so that the value of the annual overall product equals 660 talers,

this surplus value of 60 talers is the profit, for it is not considered by taking into consideration the 100 talers which, in the course of the capitalist production process, are converted into 160 talers. It is not considered in accordance with the one-sixth capital from which it appears. However, it is computed in accordance with the six-sixth of the advanced capital, i.e., in accordance with the advanced overall capital of 600 talers. Even though these 60 talers represent, as before, that same size of the value, the figure 60 represents 60 percent of 100, whereas 60 related to 600 represents only 10 percent. In a profit which always expresses a certain ratio,* a certain proportion, the surplus value assumes, consequently, another numerical expression distinct from its initial form. That same value changes, naturally, its numerical expression if it is computed not in terms of its organic relation to a part of a certain entity but in terms of its relation to the entire entity.

This difference is not only numerical but a difference of content, of essence. It is a question not only of a different assessment, of a different measurement or computation but precisely the opposite. This difference in computing, measuring, and assessing is a necessity for capital, expressing a new characteristic relation and the establishment of a certain new form which is as essential as the difference, for example, between the form of barter value and cash.

The ratio between surplus value and the variable part of capital is, as we have seen, an organic one. In reality, it expresses the secret of formation and growth, the secret of the existence of capital as such. This organic ratio disappears within the ratio between profit and capital. Surplus value assumes a form in which there is not even a hint as to the secret of its origin. Since all parts of capital identically packed as causes for newly created value, the capitalist relation becomes totally mystifying. The surplus value, as such, always expresses the relation between capital and labor used by capital. In the relation between capital and profit, capital is classified not as labor but as itself. On the one hand this is a simple quantitative ratio between a certain sum total of value or sum total of money to itself. For example, if I say that a 100 taler capital yields annually a profit of 10 talers I am simply comparing a taler with a taler. On the one hand, this basic, capital, main amount operates as a given value; on the other, these 100 talers become the main, the basic, the capital sum precisely because they yield a certain additional sum while the basic sum is the reason for such an additional sum. The latter is its natural result (see Aristotle on usury,³ and the part where Sismondi,⁴ in which he says that wealth like labor (and with the help of labor), yields fruits every year. Adding, however, the words "like labor," and "with the help of labor," he exaggerates.)

*This requires expansion. See Malthus and others.²

Therefore, in this form the difference between capital and its particular forms has disappeared as well as between it and those of its functions in which it operates even before capitalist production itself has appeared. Thus capital becomes an object which has existed since antiquity.

"The capitalist expects the same profit from all parts of capital" (Malthus).⁵

On the one hand, it is true that profit is one of the forms of surplus value in which the latter applies identically to all parts of capital and, consequently, is identically measured in terms of its relation to the overall amount of capital. On the other hand, it is true that the capitalist does not know anything about the nature of capital. In his mind surplus value exists only in the form of profit--a converted form of surplus value, totally abstracted from relations under which it appears and which determine it. True, in the course of the direct production process the nature of the surplus value constantly penetrates the mind of the capitalist who, as we saw in the discussion of surplus value, thirsts for someone else's work time, and so on.⁶ This, however, is merely a concealed circumstance. In reality, he himself considers capital as self-operating automaton which possesses not in its quality as a relation but in terms of its physical existence the property of increasing itself and yielding profit. Social relations in which the value and objects within which this value is embodied (consumer value) acquire this property--such social relations act as eternal natural relations or else, conversely, above all, an understanding is developed that certain (artificial) obstacles (relations*) hinder its natural development and its full blossoming.

The concept that capital is such a self-acting automaton is the basis, for example, of Price's computation of interest and compound interest which totally confused even William Pitt.⁷ (See Luther for the merger of interest (with financial capital).⁸) This is the origin of stupid statements made by economists, such as, for example, the fact that there must be profit otherwise the capitalist would merely lend his capital. He would have no reason to invest capital in production instead of investing it at a certain rate of interest (the outcome of this being that capital would yield interest even if no capital is invested in production). Thus, Turgot himself says that if capital were not to bring profit everyone would use his capital to buy land (see the section where Turgot considers, consequently, a certain method for the use of capital as something yielding results by itself).⁹

However, in the mind of the bourgeois surplus value necessarily assumes the form of profit. This is not merely a method of conception; bourgeois production is controlled by the attitude towards surplus value considered as profit, determining the distribution of capital among the various production sectors and constituting, so to say, a determining aspect of free competition (in

*The word "relations" was written over the word "hindrances." The editor.

the competition among capitals, i.e., in the course of the factual movement of capital within which the loss of capital can be exclusively fulfilled. In reality, these laws are nothing but, on the one hand, the general conditions governing this movement and its results and, on the other, its trend).

Capital becomes a relation in which a certain value--money, commodity, special consumer values through which the value reenters the production process, i.e., consequently, the capitalist becomes the owner of this sum of value, so firmly blended, on the basis of capitalist production, within the bourgeois society, with the existence of the capitalist that Wakefield, for example, had to begin by going to the colonies to discover that such relations are not in the least something self-evident and that without them value does not become capital while the owner of the value does not become a capitalist. This is so self-evident and, generally speaking, so misunderstood that this discovery made by Wakefield could, in reality, be considered a kind of new epoch in modern political economy.¹⁰

Actually, the process of the production of capital is always linked with the process of capital turnover. Both processes are aspects of the production process itself, the way the production process, in turn, acts as an aspect of the turnover process. The two are constantly interwoven, converting from one to the other and thus always presenting in a false light their distinguishing characteristic marks. However, in the course of the turnover process, on the one hand, surplus value acquires new definitions; on the other hand, capital experiences a number of transformations; finally, as a result of its own, so to say internal, organic life, in the course of this process capital acts in external relations in life, in relations in which not capital and labor are pitted against each other but in which, on the one hand, capital is pitted against capital and, on the other, individuals maintaining simple turnover relations develop relations as commodity owners, customers, and sellers. Along this way the time of turnover and the working time crisscross and thus, both, to the same extent, determine the surplus value. The initial form in which capital is pitted against hired labor seems to disappear. Relations seemingly independent of it develop; surplus value itself becomes not the product of acquisition of the worker's time but a surplus sale price of the commodity over and above its value and, above all, as money, so that any recollection of the initial nature of the surplus value is totally lost or else this initial nature is never clearly realized; at best it operates as a legitimate aspect along with the independent movement which stems from the turnover and, consequently, which belongs to capital regardless of its attitude toward labor. It is not in vain that some economists (such as Ramsey, Malthus, Senior, Torrence, and others) directly refer to such turnover phenomena as proof that capital, in its material aspect, regardless of the social production relation which only makes it capital, is, along with labor, and independently of labor, an autonomous source of surplus value.¹¹ Yet, as we already saw in our consideration of the capital production process, it is in the nature of this relation that social labor production forces act as production forces converted into capital, and that the separation and materialization of past labor and

value which factually exist in the form of the capitalist, and the domination of material over labor constitute the essence of capital and, furthermore, that the conversion of the worker only into a material work force and a commodity, a (source) of the fruits of capital, to the extent to which it exists materially, are all factors which are not the consequence of a social production relation but, rather the opposite, it is the latter that acts as the consequence of the material relation between said objects and labor as particular aspects of the production process. Within capital as a relation--even if considered independently of the process of capital turnover--a characteristic feature exists: It becomes confused and distorted, led by the subjective and objective factors as manifested in money. On the basis of this distorted attitude, necessarily, a corresponding distorted idea develops in the production process itself, a converted concept which is completed by the transformations and modifications of the turnover process itself. However, the capitalist as such is nothing but the dynamics of capital itself. The capitalist is in reality identical to what it is as a concept. Since he expresses the positive dominating aspect of the relations, he is not concerned with such contradictions. Conversely, it is precisely within them that he feels perfectly well, whereas the hired worker, trapped by that same distorted view, but on its other side, as the oppressed party, is forced by practice to oppose this entire relation and, consequently, the corresponding attitude toward concepts, views, and ways of thinking.

Let us add here the fact that in the course of the factual turnover process not only the conversions we considered take place (and which even the best economists have forced to classify as capitalist concepts but only somewhat more doctrinarian), but the fact that such conversions coincide with the factual competition, with the purchase and sale above and below cost, for in reality, in the case of the individual capitalist, profit is not a surplus value which depends on the level of exploitation of labor but something depending on reciprocal fraud--a concept which was sanctioned not only by the old but even the latest economists (such as, for example, Torrence.¹² See also Senior on money and so on, and on wages¹³).

In fact, the only thing which is of practical interest to capital and which guides its factual movement and competition is profit rather than surplus value, i.e., the ratio between surplus value and the sum total of advanced capital, rather than the ratio to capital used to purchase manpower. This leads us (as a transition) to the consideration of production outlays and their correlation with the selling price of the product.

Before engaging in this discussion, however, several other remarks are necessary.

First. From the viewpoint of a society ruled by capitalist production, whatever the extent to which capital acts as a self-actor,* the value which, in itself, has the characteristic of increasing as a result of certain qualitates occultae,** is manifested most strikingly in the interest on capital. A certain amount of the value is sold here as such, as capital;

*Self-acting machine, automaton. The editor.

**Concealed characteristics. The editor.

in other words, capital itself becomes a commodity. A certain amount of value or a check for a certain value is sold as a self-protecting and increasing value. The fact that this is not money but a commodity into which money could be converted does not change anything in the case. As self-protecting and increasing value, this commodity is considered and sold only as an exchange value, i.e., as money. This characteristic of being capital is sold as an internal characteristic inherent in the value of the amount. Therefore, it is returned to its owner with a profit.

Second. There is no need here to say that if any given commodity is sold above or below its value it is a case merely of a different distribution of surplus value among different capitalists and between purchasers and sellers. This different distribution of changed ratio in which individuals share among themselves the surplus value does not change anything in the size or the nature of the surplus value.

Third. The competition relation, to the extent to which it is considered here as an illustration (rather than as something pertaining to development itself) leads to the fact that the surplus value extracted by the individual capitalist is not a decisive feature, for an average profit develops, i.e., a general measure, and the capitalists compute and divide among themselves the overall value which goes to their class in accordance with other laws (we see this in Jones' as well)¹⁴. As a result of this, the real price of a commodity--ignoring the fluctuations of the market price--is substantially modified and becomes distinct from the value of the commodity. Therefore, no single individual capitalist could say or know the extent to which the profit he has received includes or does not include the surplus value he has extracted, and the share of the surplus value produced by the capitalist class included in the price of the commodity produced by the individual capitalist. This point, as, in general, the distorted way in which the laws of capital appear under competitive conditions, could be made most clear in the study of production costs. The view of the relation dominating the capitalist, created by the competition (for, in fact, it is precisely the laws of capital itself that operate for the capitalist in a state of competition as an external coercive force, created by his capital over and above other capitals, and by other capitals over and above his own capital) totally deprive the capitalist of the concept of the internal nature of such relations in which he operates and whose interested agent or official he merely is.

Fourth. The confusion or insufficient distinction between surplus value and profit is the source of the greatest stupidities expressed in political economy when a proper interpretation of the matter is required. Outstanding economists such as, for example, Ricardo, naturally, do not confuse the concepts, even though they do not show any clear understanding of the distinction between them. Hence, therefore, on the one hand they consider a factual law as an abstraction of the factual movement which, therefore, is totally contradictory to this abstraction in the particulars. On the other hand, they would like forcefully to explain through the nature of value or surplus value phenomena which arise only from the surplus value in the form of profits. Hence the erroneous laws. Considering the general nature of capital,

Ricardo ignores competition. On the other hand, while defining value, from the very beginning, he introduces as a determining aspect the concept of basic capital, and so on, thus, as Malthus¹⁵ justifiably indicates, he rejects his own imaginary law or reduces this law merely to its shadow. Furthermore, his students, such as (James) Mill and McCulloch¹⁶ make the senseless attempt of converting, for example, turnover time into working time and, finally, to describe as labor the action not only of animals but of inanimate things, including any natural movement of the latter. We find the same thing in Say¹⁷ in this respect. However, this criticism belongs to the final section of this chapter.¹⁸

FOOTNOTES

1. Initially, Marx described as "chapters," "sections," and, finally, "books," the three theoretical parts of "Das Kapital"--"The Process of Production of Capital," "The Process of Capital Turnover," and "Capital and Profit." The characteristics of the year as the natural measure for capital turnover was first provided by Marx in his manuscripts of 1857-1858 in the initial variant of "Das Kapital" (see K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch" [Works], Vol 46, Part II, pp 141-142).
2. Marx has in mind the following Malthusian concept: "Indeed, profit includes the concept of a certain proportion; the profit norm has always justifiably been expressed in percentages in terms of the value of advanced capital" (T. R. Malthus, "Definitions in Political Economy," London, 1827, p 30).
3. Marx cites Aristotle's statement on usury in Volume 1 of "Das Kapital" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch," Vol 23, p 175).
4. See K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch," Vol 23, p 579.
5. T. R. Malthus, "Principles of Political Economy," second edition, London, 1836, p 268.
6. See K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch," Vol 47, pp 199-247.
7. In his 1857-1858 manuscripts, for the first time Marx considered "Dr. Price's fantastic ideas," which were "seriously believed" by English Prime Minister William Pitt (see K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch," Vol 46, Part II, pp 356-357).
8. Marx provided a detailed analysis of Luther's views on the problem of interest at usury in "theories of surplus value," which is the main part of the 1861-1863 manuscripts (see K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch," Vol 26, Part III, pp 555-565).

9. For a description of Turgot's views on profit earned by capital see "Theory of Surplus Value" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch," Vol 26, Part I, pp 30-31; Part III, p 501).
10. Subsequently, Marx devoted a separate chapter to Wakefield's colonization theory in Vol 1 of "Das Kapital" (see K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch," Vol 23, pp 774-784).
11. For a study of the views of these bourgeois economists see "Theories of Surplus Value" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch," Vol 26, Part II).
12. See K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch," Vol 26, Part III, pp 65-81.
13. In his 1861-1863 manuscripts Marx gave Senior "as an example of the misunderstanding by the economists of surplus labor and surplus value" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch," Vol 47, p 199; *ibid*, pp 214-219, 576).
14. See K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch," Vol 26, Part III, pp 464-468.
15. *Ibid*, pp 21-24.
16. *Ibid*, pp 180-186.
17. *Ibid*, pp 184-189.
18. The outlines for the third part of "Capital and Profit," drafted by Marx in January 1863, contain a number of items criticizing bourgeois theories (see K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch," Vol 26, Part I, pp 425-426).

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L. I. BREZHNEV'S SPEECH AT THE 18th KOMSOMOL CONGRESS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 7, May 1978 pp 10-22

[L. I. Brezhnev speech to the 18th Komosmol Congress delivered on 25 April 1978]

[Text] Comrade delegates! Dear guests!

On behalf of the CPSU Central Committee and on behalf of all the members of our Leninist party I warmly greet the participants in our highest Komsomol meeting and, through you, all Komsomol members, the entire Soviet youth! (Applause)

Fifty-eight years ago, addressing the third congress of the then very young Komsomol Vladimir Il'ich Lenin singled out as most important the question of "what we must teach and how we must teach the youth if they indeed wish to justify the title of Communist Youth, and how to prepare them to be able to complete the building and finish that which we have undertaken" ("Poln Sobr Soch" [Complete Collected Works], Vol 41, p 301).

This Leninist formulation of the problem has retained its entire validity to this day. Today as well the main aspect of Komsomol work and party leadership in this area is what we must teach the young people and how they must learn (naturally, not only in school but in a broader meaning of the term-- in the science of life), to make them worthy builders of communism.

As a whole, I believe, the party members of the senior generation may be pleased with the Soviet youth of today. They are growing with the convictions of communism, profoundly loyal to the cause of the party, the cause of the great Lenin (applause). Millions of adolescents are displaying models of courage, firmness, and loyalty to the ideals of the October Revolution. Wherever the front of the building of communism passes they are working with great enthusiasm, actively struggling for the fulfillment of the intensive plans for the development of the country. They bring to all projects their special romantic thrust and, I would say, youthful enthusiasm. We thank the Komsomol, we thank all the young people of the Soviet state for all this! (Lengthy applause.)

Let the pure fire of patriotism continue to burn in your hearts, let the noble feeling of individual responsibility for assignments, and of everything occurring in the country live (applause).

The 25th Party Congress approved a vast program for the five-year plan and the more distant future. Its sole objective is to enable the Soviet people to live even better, more richly and happily, so that we may progress even more confidently toward our bright objective--communism. Much of what the party has earmarked is being successfully implemented in the course of the five-year plan. However, a great deal remains to be done, including, naturally, by you, the young people.

I.

One of the most important tokens of the present of our homeland is the struggle for effectiveness and quality. This is no passing campaign. It is a party course adopted, as we say, with all seriousness and for the long-run. This is not only the key task of the present five-year plan but the determining factor of our economic and social development for many years ahead. If you wish, this is also a program for raising an entire generation of Soviet people.

Our country has tremendous natural resources. Through the efforts of several generations we have developed a powerful economic potential in industry and agriculture. We raised and trained numerous educated and skilled cadres, and provided the people with good living conditions.

Today, more than ever before, it is important to use skillfully, sensibly, and economically, all these very rich resources, put them properly on the service of the people, and extract from them maximal benefits.

Naturally, effectiveness and quality are rather broad concepts. They include basic elements such as the most efficient location of production forces, improvements in nationwide planning, and comprehensive approach to the solution of major economic problems. In this respect the party has set clear assignments to our state organs, including the Gosplan and the respective ministries, among others at the December 1977 Central Committee plenum. However, a great deal depends on the individual enterprise, shop, brigade, and working person.

What does this mean?

It means to work not simply with discipline and diligence but conscientiously, ably, and effectively, to work beautifully, so that you yourself and the others would respect you for your labor.

It means the rational organization of the work at each sector, insuring a reliable system of incentives for achieving a stable and good quality of output and its further improvement.

It means making a thrifty attitude toward material values belonging to the people the first law of life and work of the Soviet people; adamantly seeking ever new methods for the elimination of unproductive expenditures.

It means the creation in labor collectives of the type of moral and psychological atmosphere in which everyone would deem it his natural duty, with the possibility to do so, to work with maximum productivity and highest returns; an atmosphere in which the position of parasites, idlers, waste-makers, and plunderers of public property will become truly intolerable. Such are the tasks, comrades. The party has formulated them most clearly and adamantly. Millions of working people approved the party's appeal and responded to it through their actions.

You probably know from press reports what extensive, systematic, and painstaking work is being done in this direction at Moscow, Leningrad, Minsk, L'vov, Ural, Kuzbass, Tashkent, and Karaganda enterprises, and in many labor collectives throughout the country.

The young people are actively participating in this work. You raised the slogan of "Youth Enthusiasm and Creativity for a Five-Year Plan of Effectiveness and Quality!" This is a good and proper slogan. It is a matter of honor for the Komsomol to see to it that this slogan is daily implemented by all young workers, kolkhoz members, technicians, and engineers.

Leading enterprises, the Volga automotive plant, for example, have acquired useful experience in the comprehensive solution of problems of upgrading production effectiveness and labor quality. We justifiably hope that this will become most widespread. The Komsomol must contribute to this effort (applause).

Or else, consider Shchekino Method. It enables us considerably to increase the volume of output while lowering the number of workers. It might seem that this is a clear cut matter. However, the method has still not become sufficiently widespread. Apparently, some economic managers and departmental personnel are totally unable to abandon the old roots, and to review and revise individual principles of administration and production organization methods.

The time has come for us, comrades, to learn how to efficiently apply progressive experience and complete all useful projects (applause).

What are today the decisive sectors of the struggle for effectiveness and quality in our national economy? There are several of them. But, above all, I would mention once again capital construction and transportation. Our successes along the entire economic front largely depend on improvements in such sectors. These problems were closely considered in the course of last year's December Central Committee plenum. As you know, I recently mentioned them again during my trip around the eastern parts of the country.

As I have emphasized, we shall take strictly to task economic managers who display rigidity and inability properly to concentrate forces and funds, and who freeze people's funds in unfinished construction projects. However, it is not a matter of managers only. This also depends on the type of work and responsibility displayed by millions of people engaged in construction and transportation. Millions among them are young men and women, including Komsomol members. In this case creative initiative, shock work at all sectors, and competition whose supreme objective is to ensure end national economic results for the country are particularly important.

For example, it would be useful to adopt extensively the initiative of competition among related workers based on the "Workers' Relay Race" principle--competition among collectives of construction projects, designers, and industrial, transportation, and agricultural enterprises for the prompt and ahead of schedule completion of most important capacities and projects stipulated in the five-year plan.

As to transportation, let us note here the valuable initiative of the people of Leningrad--the experience gained in labor cooperation among the collectives of seamen, railroad workers, truck drivers, and river transportation personnel within the Leningrad transportation junction (applause).

These and other similar initiatives need your support, dear comrades. They need your energy and youthful enthusiasm! (Applause.)

The Komsomol has always been the reliable sponsor of great Soviet construction projects. This splendid tradition has been kept. However, our construction projects themselves have changed greatly. Today they represent no longer individual huge construction sites but entire huge geographic areas.

Let me discuss here one of them. Its significance to the future of the homeland is increasing with every passing day. It is a question of Western Siberia or, more specifically, Tyumen'.

In only 10 years we have converted this Tayga area into the main petroleum base of the country. Currently a powerful gas and chemical industry is developing there. The characteristic features of Tyumenskaya Oblast landscape is no longer that of forest and reindeer paths but young cities, petroleum and gas wells, plants, railroads, and highways built on a huge scale! Just think, comrades: A territory covering one million square kilometers is being economically developed and settled along the Ob'. This is approximately the equivalent of the area of Spain, Italy, and Britain together (applause).

Yes, we boldly invested here huge funds. We were not wrong. The expenditures were justified. Today Tyumen' accounts for nearly one-half of the Soviet petroleum and a large quantity of gas. Recently the party's Central Committee congratulated the petroleum workers of Western Siberia: They gave

the homeland the billionth ton of petroleum (applause). This is a great labor victory. Honor and glory to our northern workers extracting the "black gold!" (Lengthy applause.)

The Tyumen' deposits will be with us for many years. Over the next ten years we are planning to obtain the basic increase in petroleum and natural gas extraction and the valuable chemical raw materials produced on their basis, precisely from Tyumen'. In this connection, a new more complex stage of development of Western Siberia is taking place or, rather, has already taken place. The volume of our entire work in that area must be doubled and tripled. This will require more material and technical outlays and more human labor.

How could the Komsomol help Western Siberia? I know that currently it already has 13 shock Komsomol construction projects. Nevertheless, I would ask you to pay greater attention to this area.

Construction projects do not merely need manpower. We must channel into them a certain number of construction and installation workers, drivers, drillers, teachers, and people with other skills. That is what is needed.

From the very beginning of the "offensive" mounted against Western Siberia the slogan was raised of extracting its resources not through numbers but through skill, i.e., with the help of the latest equipment and technology. A great deal has been achieved here as well.

Let us take the block construction method. Incidentally, it was developed and applied by young enthusiasts, by the workers and engineers of the Tyumen'gazmontazh Trust. Essentially, this means that many industrial projects are fully manufactured in the rear centers, in plant shops, after which they are transported to the site in blocks, whatever the distance, and assembled.

It has been estimated that this method enables us to quadruple labor productivity in the development of Siberian deposits. This means savings of thousands and even tens of thousands of work hands.

As you may see, the development of Western Siberia could be assisted also by those who work elsewhere. To this effect wherever Tyumen' orders are being fulfilled--in the Ukraine, Azerbaydzhan, along the Volga, Moscow, throughout the country--the Komsomol must sponsor such orders in order to assist in conquering the space and subsoil of Tyumen' with minimal manpower outlays.

I believe that this principle is also applicable to other major construction projects. Such experience already exists. It includes, for example, the Leningrad initiative of fulfilling ahead of schedule all orders for new construction projects (applause). Comrades, you must disseminate this initiative among the young people everywhere. Assume unabated control over

the orders submitted by the construction projects of the country. Let the "Komsomol Beacon" not allow anyone to rest and blind those who wreck such projects (applause).

Let us now speak of agriculture.

Unquestionably, we have achieved a great deal in the implementation of the party's agrarian policy. However, a great deal remains to be done in order reliably to satisfy the growing requirements of the Soviet people and the needs of industry. Our current plans and the new projects on which the party is now at work are directed toward such objectives. Upgrading agricultural effectiveness and, above all, animal husbandry is the most important task.

Let me frankly state that it would be hard to implement it without the active participation of the youth.

Naturally, the rural youth must be the first in this case. It embodies the future and largely determines the present of the Soviet countryside. Today our agricultural production would be inconceivable without machines. That is why we ascribe essential importance to the Komsomol appeal of "if you live in a village know technology!" The technical training of rural young men and women must become truly widespread.

Our villages are changing their appearance. In the past 13 years rural housing totalling 450 million square meters has been built. This is a great deal, comrades: This was the entire amount of housing available in USSR cities before the war. The villages have been embellished by cultural homes, commercial centers, and coffee shops, sometimes as good as those in the cities. Therefore, who if not the young people, the Komsomol, should be the main motive force for such changes, operating the new equipment, building up the contemporary countryside, and establishing high labor standards! (Applause.)

Naturally, no one can be ordered to spend his life in a village. The creation of good working and living conditions in the villages, promoting respect for farm labor and love for nature, for the native land, and ability and desire to apply one's own labor to it is our method for involving the growing generation in field and livestock farm work.

Let me remind you of the initiative of school graduates in Kostromskaya Oblast. They expressed the desire to do rural work. Preparing for my meeting with you, I was interested in the way they live now. I was told that these recent highschool students have become good grain growers, livestock breeders, and mechanizers, and have found themselves engaged in an outstanding and noble project. They set up youth collectives in livestock farms and mastered new skills. Many of them are continuing their studies. They have gained tens of thousands of followers in various parts of our great homeland.

The party is thankful to the young men and women who have linked their destinies with the great program for the development of agriculture and values their initiative highly. This is a good example for the youth (lengthy applause). I believe that it will not fail to be emulated in the future as well (applause).

The work done by the Komsomol members in implementing the party's decision on the reorganization of agriculture in the RSFSR Nonchernozem Zone is of tremendous importance. Comrades continue to hold highly the great banner of the Leninist Komsomol at this shock youth construction project! (Lengthy applause.)

These days spring field operations have reached the peak in the country's fields. Let us wish the rural youth, and all kolkhoz and sovkhoz working people to carry such work on a high quality level. Let us wish them good results and, above all, to please the people with good crops (applause).

Discussing rural problems, I would like to address myself to the urban youth as well. Today crops and livestock productivity depend on the cities as well. The end result of the work of crop grower and livestock breeder largely depends on the labor of the worker. This means that the young urban residents could play an important role in this connection. They would accomplish a major project by joining the socialist competition for efficiently supplying the village with everything necessary--equipment and fertilizers, construction materials, and equipment for animal husbandry, and by assisting rural construction.

Here is yet another important task, comrades. As our economy grows and as the prosperity of the Soviet people rises, areas of social activity such as trade and consumer services are becoming ever more important. I have already had the occasion to describe the tremendous importance which they have to the moods and the health of the people and, therefore, to their successful work. Probably everyone is aware of this based on personal experience. Yet, it is precisely in these areas that so far, as you obviously know, there are many shortcomings, sometimes blatant ones. They are caused by a variety of material, organizational, and moral reasons. Yet, one thing is clear: Order must be established (applause).

I believe that the Komsomol must assume constant and unabated supervision of trade and services. You must effectively sponsor these areas. Study the situation more profoundly, help the new people, educate those who already work in this field, and mobilize public opinion, and launch initiatives directed toward the economic and administrative organs. In my view, this would be useful. Friends, undertake this project! (Lengthy applause.)

Therefore, comrades, there is much work and there are many projects. Some may think perhaps that I am facing you with too many tasks. Yet you, Komsomol members, number today nearly 38 million. What a force! (Tempestuous and lengthy applause.) You, comrades, should be able to accomplish anything! (Applause.)

What is most urgent now is not only to fulfill but overfulfill the 1978 plan. This is of exceptional importance in fulfilling the five-year plan as a whole. Today the efforts of party, soviet, and economic organs, and trade union and Komsomol organizations, and all working people must focus their efforts on this. Here a great deal depends on you, the young people. We believe that you will not let us down! (Lengthy applause.)

II.

Dear comrades! In the final account the implementation of all our plans depends on the people, on their knowledge, culture, and political conscientiousness.

Our main compass on the road to communism is the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of the laws of social development. It would be impossible to overestimate the importance of the profound and systematic mastery of this revolutionary science. This mastery must be conscious and thoughtful, rather than consisting of the automatic memorizing of individual truths and formulas. Theoretical knowledge is worth something only when it becomes conviction, when backed by action. In other words, every young lieutenant must be an active political fighter capable of implementing the party's policy and of waging an irreconcilable struggle against hostile ideology (applause).

The party and the Komsomol pay great attention to the moral education of the youth. The establishment of the norms and principles of communist morality would be impossible without the constant and persistent struggle against anti-social actions and spiritual poverty with its inevitable satellites--drunkenness, hooliganism, and labor discipline violations. No less dangerous are the concealed and not always immediately noticeable phenomena of immorality. Indifference, parasitism, cynicism, and the desire to obtain more from society than one gives are moral ills which can not be ignored by the Komsomol or by our entire society.

Concern for upgrading the living standards of the people is the main direction of the party's domestic policy. By this we mean the growth of the material and the cultural living standards of the people. One can not be separated from the other.

We equally reject the preaching of poverty and asceticism as well as the cult of consumption, the psychology of the petit bourgeois to whom a kopek as Gor'kiy aptly stated, is the sun of his sky. To us material goods are not an aim within itself but a prerequisite for the all-round development of the individual. For this reason, it is important for the upsurge in prosperity be accompanied by the enrichment of the inner world of the people, and the shaping of a proper understanding of the objectives and meaning of life.

The high level of education and information of the Soviet people including, naturally, the youth, greatly upgrades requirements governing the style of educational work.

Manifestations of callousness and formalism are particularly intolerable here. It is time for all workers on the ideological front to put an end to the occasionally still encountered practice of automatic and thoughtless reiteration of basic truths and verbal chattering. It is time to follow the rule of addressing the people in a simple and inventive language, and to invest in our writings living thoughts and feelings. This too is a problem of quality and effectiveness in an important sector in the building of communism as the education of the new man.

The party and the Komsomol rates the young citizens of our society as loyal sons and daughters of the Soviet fatherland and firm fighters for the cause of communism. These qualities are implemented in the major accomplishments of millions of people, increasing the power of the homeland and the prosperity of the people.

Quite recently, in the course of my trip in the Urals, Siberia, and the Far East, I was able to see once again, with tremendous satisfaction, what outstanding people are working in these extremely rich yet largely difficult areas, and the splendid young people working there. One could say that they are warming the climate of these areas through the heat of their loyal hearts (tempestuous lengthy applause).

I particularly remember meeting a group of young builders of the Baykal-Amur Main Line, at one of the stations, and the young people of Komsomol'sk-na-Amure. These were splendid boys and girls. They described their work and life responsibly, knowledgeably, and yet, with enthusiasm. It was as though their eyes were looking into the future. I listened to them and remembered the familiar song, "We are conquering space and time, we, the young masters of the land." (Lengthy applause.)

The outstanding qualities of the Soviet people are manifested in the ranks of our great armed forces as well. Here the young people undergo real training. Here they not only master organization and discipline but display high conscientiousness, dedication, and, sometimes, true heroism as well (applause).

In the course of my trip to the East I was also familiarized with the organization of the protection of our borders and with those who carry out their difficult service there--the great troops of our army and navy, and our border troops. Let me say one thing, comrades: The boundaries of the homeland are reliably protected from any surprise and its defense is in experienced loyal hands (lengthy applause). I could assure you that the young people of the Soviet state, protecting its peace and tranquility, have everything necessary honorably to carry out their noble mission (lengthy applause).

Comrades! Raised in the fraternal family of nations and with the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, by their very nature the Soviet people are internationalists. The internationalist traditions are embodied today in their actions which are broader and more varied than ever before. Here, as in many other areas, the young people are in the leading ranks.

Today envoys of the Leninist Komsomol work in over 100 different countries throughout the world. Thousands of sons and daughters of our country are carrying out their noble guard duty in the socialist countries of Europe and in distant Cuba, in the burning sands of the Sahara, the jungles of South-east Asia, India, the Arab East, and a great variety of places throughout the earth. They are building plants and electric power stations; help to discover underground deposits, treat the sick, and teach children. Frequently their toil represents a real exploit, with no noise or publicity, selfless, and dedicated (applause). This is an exploit for the sake of peace and progress and the fraternity and friendship among nations (applause). This is an exploit which enhances even further the prestige of our homeland and makes it possible to understand the truth of our socialist system, communist morality, and the ideals of the Soviet people.

Comrades, let us sincerely thank these worthy representatives of our people (applause). They helped to implement the peaceful Leninist policy of our party and Soviet state, daily implementing the internationalism so highly rated by Vladimir Il'ich Lenin.

Proletarian, socialist internationalism is our great strength. It is the fruit of our convictions and the fire of our hearts. It is our banner. Always be loyal to it, dear friends! (Tempestuous lengthy applause.)

III.

Comrades! The youth of your fathers was spent wearing a soldier's overcoat, along the front line paths of the Great Patriotic War. This was truly a "battle not for glory but for life on earth" (applause). Decades have passed since. Today nearly one-half of the country's population knows only from the stories of their elders, books, and motion pictures, what war represents, with its burdens and suffering. Yet, even today, under different conditions, the battle for life on earth is continuing. The objective of our foreign policy and of its most important principles such as peaceful coexistence and detente are to insure a durable and lasting peace.

Today detente is not a theory, slogan, or pious wish. It has accomplished many good deeds, quite concrete and tangible. In Europe it became the basis of relations among countries, covering various aspects of their life. Despite all circumstantial fluctuations, Soviet American relations as well have assumed a new aspect, more favorable to the cause of the peace. The way of detente has been acknowledged and supported by the nations as the only sensible one in our difficult times.

The most essential and urgent need today is to achieve a further lowering of the threat of war, and stop the growth of armaments. This is felt by all nations and acknowledged by most governments. This is also confirmed by the fact that in several weeks, for the first time in history, the United Nations General Assembly will hold a session specially dedicated to the restriction of armaments, to disarmament. We wish success to this session and will actively contribute to it.

We are in favor of universal and total disarmament. The almost 20 year old talks on this problem have found themselves in an impasse not by our fault. Within that time, however, nevertheless agreements have been concluded on limiting armaments in some areas. Furthermore, talks are continuing on a number of problems.

The main direction of our struggle for peace under present conditions is to reduce the danger of the outbreak of a new world war and of the mass destruction of people with the help of nuclear weapons. To this effect the Soviet Union has launched a number of major actions. One of them involves talks with the United States on limiting strategic offensive weapons.

As you know, U.S. Secretary of State Vance recently visited Moscow on President Carter's instructions. A thorough exchange of views was held. As a result we were able to make certain progress in drafting an agreement on the limitation of strategic armaments. Far from all problems have been resolved. We can not agree at all with some positions held by the American side. I believe, however, that through joint efforts, on the basis of a sensible and realistic compromise, we could complete the elaboration of an agreement which would justifiably take into consideration the interests of the security of both countries. This would enable us noticeably to restrain the arms race and, therefore, will contribute to strengthening the peace.

For a number of years the Soviet Union has worked on the conclusion of an agreement calling for the universal and total banning of nuclear weapon tests. Currently we are engaged in talks with the United States and Britain on banning tests in all media (i.e., underground as well). We could note with satisfaction that of late such talks have shown a definite progress. Let us hope that this matter will be successfully completed and that the corresponding treaty will be signed in the near future. This will represent a noticeable success in the struggle for the peace and security of the people.

Together with the other peace-loving forces on our planet the Soviet Union is applying active efforts not to allow the development of a new, particularly anti-humane, mass destruction weapon--the neutron weapon. Our position on this matter is extremely simple and radical: Before it is too late the corresponding countries should reach an agreement reciprocally abandoning the production of this weapon. Let mankind be saved once and for all from its appearance.

Unfortunately, the United States which made preparations for the development of the neutron bomb, has not as yet accepted our proposal. However, President Carter recently stated that he has postponed the making of a final decision on starting the production of the neutron weapon. Naturally, this does not eliminate the problem and, at best, is a half-way measure. However, I could announce that, taking this statement by the President into consideration, we too will not undertake the production of the neutron weapon should the United States not engage in this production. In the future this will depend on Washington . . .

In accordance with its essential line of lowering the threat of a nuclear war, the Soviet Union has also decided to join, in the proper manner, the international treaty banning nuclear weapons in Latin America. Thus we, like other countries possessing nuclear weapons, will assume the obligation not to contribute to the acquisition of nuclear weapons by Latin American states or the use of such weapons against the signatories of such a treaty.

Therefore, as you may see, comrades, work in favor of peace is going on and our homeland is making ever new efforts for such purposes (lengthy applause).

We shall strive to make my forthcoming visit to the FRG also helpful not only in establishing possibilities for further extensive mutually profitable cooperation between our two countries (which, in itself, is important), but would serve the cause of strengthening detente and universal peace, particularly in Europe.

Of late the enemies of detente and disarmament in the NATO countries, all these politicking generals and militaristic politicians, have raised and are continuing with their propaganda hullabaloo, dissemination fabrications concerning an allegedly threatening military superiority of the Warsaw Pact members over the NATO bloc in Europe and on alleged aggressive intentions in Europe ascribed to the Soviet Union, and so on. Naturally, all this is nonsense. However, this is not harmless but malicious nonsense, for it is used to justify and conceal actions which are truly dangerous and potentially aggressive: Raising the arms race to a new level, increasing military forces, and saturating the international atmosphere with the toxic fumes of fear, suspicion, and hostility.

No one more than the Soviet Union, who suffered more than anyone else from World War Two, wishes that peace in Europe be never disturbed again, and for Europe to become forever a continent of lasting peace and peaceful cooperation. No single country has done so much to achieve this as ours (tempestuous, lengthy applause).

For several years we have strived to achieve in the course of the Vienna talks for the level of military forces in the European West and East to be considerably lowered without threatening the security of any of the parties. So far, however, the only response on the part of the West has been an attempt to change the ratio of forces in its favor. True, recently the Western countries submitted in Vienna somewhat renovated proposals. They take to a certain extent the considerations of the socialist states, even though the general mark of a one-sided approach has been clearly retained. Well, we shall go on working. We are ready to do everything depending on us to find mutually acceptable solutions for reducing military tension in this part of the world where it is particularly great and dangerous (applause).

Everyone should know that the Soviet Union not only does not have any aggressive plans or is preparing for "strikes" in Europe against the West but, conversely, it is doing and will continue to do everything possible to ease

the tension and to help reach an agreement. Unlike the NATO countries we have long stopped increasing our armed forces in Central Europe and do not intend, I wish to emphasize this most emphatically, do not intend in the future to increase them by a single soldier or by a single tank (applause).

We call upon the Western countries to follow this good example.

In an effort to distort the meaning and objectives of Soviet foreign policy, imperialist propaganda claims that there seems to be a contradiction between the course followed by our country toward detente and peaceful coexistence and our relations with countries liberated from colonial oppression. Attempts are being made to ascribe to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries intervention in the affairs of the young countries. Accusations are even being made of pursuing and "expansionary" policy and a policy of increasing the tension. Naturally, this is a thorough fabrication which has nothing in common with reality.

We wish to develop friendly cooperation with these countries on the basis of total equality. We support their independence and their development on the path of peace and social progress. The USSR invariably favors strict respect for the sovereignty of these--like all other--states and non-intervention in their domestic affairs and the inviolability of their borders (applause).

Yet, the imperialist countries--openly or in an only slightly concealed manner--are constantly interfering in the affairs of independent liberated countries. They interfere in order to prevent their progressive development. They harm their sovereignty in order to protect the selfish interests of their monopolies or plans of their military strategists.

As a rule, such interference leads to violence and to the suppression of the right of the peoples. This occurs either in the domestic life of the respective countries such as, for example, Chile, or as open external aggression as exemplified by the impudent actions of the Israeli rulers.

The facts prove that the peoples of the young countries defend and support their independence and vital interests the more successfully the stronger their unity and solidarity becomes and the firmer their friendship becomes with the members of the socialist world on whose support they could rely in their just cause (applause).

There is no need to look far for examples. It was precisely thanks to the solidarity of the progressive forces that the attempts on the part of imperialism and its puppets to overthrow the people's regime in Angola or break up revolutionary Ethiopia failed.

Peace, non-intervention in domestic affairs, respect for independence and territorial integrity, equality, and mutually profitable cooperation are all necessary and most important elements of detente and lasting peace. Such is our policy in Europe, and such it is in Africa, Asia, and Latin America,

and throughout the world. Anyone who may think that the Soviet Union could abandon this course as a result of slanderous fabrications and threats is deeply mistaken (applause).

Comrades! Analyzing the circumstances in the world we reached the firm conviction that the time has come to think of completely ending the further quantitative and qualitative growth of armaments and of the armed forces of countries possessing a big military potential, thus creating conditions for their subsequent reduction. Specifically, we call for the discussion of a program for the implementation of the following measures over a specific limited period of time:

Stopping the production of nuclear weapons of all kinds;

Stopping the production and banning all other kinds of mass destruction weapons;

Stopping the creation of new types of conventional armaments possessing great destructive power;

Abandoning the expansion of armies and of increasing conventional armaments by the permanent members of the Security Council and by countries linked with them through military agreements.

Naturally, the reaching of such an agreement is no simple matter. Probably one could begin with any given part such as, for example, stopping the production of nuclear weapons, as we have already suggested. Above all, the entire task is facilitated by the fact that the implementation of such steps would not disturb the ratio of forces currently existing among countries. No one would gain an advantage.

We can not, we have no right to forget that the threat of the use of nuclear weapons, making the peoples fear for their fate, still hangs over the world. Understandably, its elimination would require the joint efforts of all nuclear powers. Each one of them, however, could and should make its contribution. Speaking for itself, the Soviet Union most clearly states that we oppose the use of nuclear weapons; only exceptional circumstances, an aggression committed against our country or its allies on the part of another nuclear power, could force us to resort to this extreme instrument of self-defense. The Soviet Union is doing and will continue to do everything possible to prevent the outbreak of an atomic war so that the people may not become the victims of nuclear strikes--whether a first or a subsequent. This is our firm line and we shall act accordingly (lengthy applause).

In our view the thoughts of mankind should be to protect our earth and give it to the young generation in all its wealth and beauty, rather than maimed by the flames of a nuclear conflagration. The Soviet Union is doing everything it can for the preservation and strengthening of the peace. We believe, dear young friends, that your future resides in the happiness of free toil on a peaceful planet (tempestuous lengthy applause).

Comrades! Your congress is being held on the eve of a noteworthy date: This year the All-Union Leninist Communist Youth Union will celebrate its 60th anniversary (applause). Naturally, the country will properly celebrate this anniversary. We ask of you to meet your holiday with new major labor accomplishments (applause).

The Komsomol has reached full maturity. Its spirit, however, is always young (applause). The Leninist Komsomol is the battle assistant at reliable reserve of the party. You draw from the party tremendous tried experience for all activities of your union. This is natural, for the party and the Komsomol have a single objective--communism--and a single path--the path of Lenin, the path of serving the people (tempestuous and lengthy applause).

You must lead to double victory the great cause initiated by your grandfathers and your fathers. Be their worthy replacement, bear highly the banner of communism! (Tempestuous applause.)

Glory to the Leninist Komsomol--the leading detachment of the Soviet youth! (Stormy applause.) Glory to the young generation of our country! (Tempestuous applause. All rise. Those present in the hall "Lenin! Party! Komsomol!").

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union--Lenin's party! (Tempestuous applause. Shouts: "Glory to the CPSU!" "Hurray!")

Long live the Soviet people--builders of communism! (Tempestuous and lengthy applause. Long ovations. The participants in the congress hail the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Leninist CPSU Central Committee politbureau and Leninist Komsomol, declaiming "Lenin is with us!")

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CSO: 1802

IMPORTANT FACTOR IN UPGRADING ECONOMIC EFFECTIVENESS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 7, May 1978 pp 23-37

[Article by A. Kirilenko, CPSU Central Committee Politbureau member and CPSU Central Committee secretary]

[Text] The practical implementation of the instructions of the 25th Party Congress on the systematic pursuit of the course of upgrading production effectiveness leads to profound quality changes in the structure and technical level of the national economy. In this case the unbreakable link between technology and economy is manifested particularly clearly. No single significant problem of national economic development can be properly resolved without the strictest possible consideration of this link. It is precisely on the basis of national economic effectiveness that today the acceleration of scientific and technical progress in machine building, and in one of its sectors, such as motor manufacturing, becomes particularly topical.

In his speech at the December 1977 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, Central Committee general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, concretizing the stipulations of the party's economic strategy and tactics, particularly emphasized that among the major national economic problems of the present not one is more important than that of fuel and energy.

The instructions and recommendations formulated by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in the course of his trip in Siberia and the Far East on the further comprehensive development of the subsoil and the growth of production forces in these areas, the accelerated development here of coal mining and petroleum and gas extraction, and the better utilization of our tremendous hydraulic power resources, are yet another manifestation of the great concern shown by the party's Central Committee for the radical solution of this problem and for upgrading the effectiveness of the entire Soviet economy.

Strengthening and improving the energy base of the national economy is one of the main ways for upgrading social production effectiveness. The power-labor ratio and, therefore, the growth rates of labor productivity, depend

on the extent to which the economic sectors are saturated with modern power facilities. The technical level of the power industry largely predetermines the possibility for the rational utilization of fuel resources. This is yet another important factor in upgrading economic effectiveness.

The power base of the national economy is a broad concept. Along with the electric power industry it includes internal combustion engines. There is no area in the national economy in which such engines are not used and it is not in vain that they are metaphorically described as the "heart" of many types of machinery. In order to imagine more clearly the scale of their output and utilization, it would suffice to say that in the three basic sectors producing engines--the automotive industry, tractor manufacturing, and heavy and transportation machine building, their annual output exceeds three million. The overall capacity of the motor fleet in the national economy exceeds by several hundred percent the overall capacity of all electric power plants in the country. Almost 25 percent of these capacities are in agriculture, over 60 percent in automotive transportation, and the rest are in rail, maritime, and riverine transportation, construction, the communal economy, and various stationary power systems.

As we see, motors are the most important component of our entire power industry; they are a mobile power source on which the country's transportation system is based above all.

1.

The CPSU Central Committee and Soviet government always pay great attention to the development of motor manufacturing. Each stage in its establishment and advancement convincingly illustrates the struggle of the Leninist party, the working class, and the entire Soviet people for technical progress in the national economy.

Domestic motor manufacturing was developed virtually after the Great October Socialist Revolution. As early as 1928 45 types of stationary and transportation motors were produced with an overall power of about 150 horsepower. In the course of the country's industrialization the production of motor vehicle and tractor engines was mastered. In 1937 the Chelyabinsk Tractors Plant undertook the production of tractors with domestically manufactured diesel engines. During the first five-year plans transport, ship, and stationary diesel engines with a power ranging from 5 to 2,000 horsepower were also developed and produced. They include the 12 cylinder diesel V-2 model which was unparalleled for its time in worldwide diesel engine manufacturing and which enabled our designers to develop better tanks in World War Two--the T-34, the KV, and the IS.

The most significant results in the development of motor manufacturing were achieved in the past two five-year plans. In the field of tractor manufacturing, for example, in 1975 the production of diesel engines had outstripped

the 1965 level 50 percent while its overall power had doubled. In 1970 the automotive industry crossed the one million mark in the annual production of motors; in 1977 over two million motors were manufactured. Currently, in two days the USSR produces as many ship, locomotive, and stationary diesel engines as were produced in an entire year in the First Five-Year Plan.

During the same period, thanks to the important measures taken by the party to accelerate the development of science and technology in all national economic sectors, to upgrade the role of the party organizations in this matter, and to improve the activities of ministries and departments in the manufacturing of motors, the beginning was laid to the solution of major problems related to improving the quality indicators of produced motors and to organizing their manufacturing. One of the most essential results was that the service life of automotive and tractor engines rose from 50 to 100 percent while that of diesel locomotive engines rose 2.5-3 times.

The familiar party Central Committee decree "On the Work of the Party Organizations and Collectives of the Yaroslavl' Avtodizel' Association and Kremenchug Automotive Plant on Upgrading the Quality, and Increasing the Power of Engines and the Service Life of Trucks" (1972) played a major mobilizing role in energizing the efforts of scientific research, design, and production collective, and of the political and organizational work of party committees and primary party organizations for accelerating scientific and technical progress in motor manufacturing.

This five-year plan automotive and tractor manufacturing and heavy and transportation machine building enterprises have already mastered the production of seven new types of motors and modernized different aspects of a considerable percentage of manufactured models. These sectors are currently producing about 100 modifications of engines awarded the state Emblem of Quality.

The development of domestic motor manufacturing clearly confirms the insurmountable truth that wherever the party organizations approach this matter with total understanding of the importance of their assignments, adamantly promote educational and organizational work among the working people, and ably mobilize the party members and the entire collectives for the solution of central problems there is high political upsurge, the work goes well, and great practical results are achieved.

The party organization and the collective of the Yaroslavl' Avtodizel' Association are doing a great deal of work to accelerate scientific and technical progress. After developing and mastering the production of the well-known four-stroke diesel engines for heavy duty trucks and K-700 tractors, currently a diesel design has been developed on a high technical level for KamAZ automotive vehicles. They are equal to the best contemporary models in fuel and oil consumption, material intensiveness, and motor power.

New promising tractor diesel engines are being designed with a power ranging from 300 to 650 horsepower. The practical help given to the association's collective by the Yaroslavskaia Oblast Party Organization has been a mandatory prerequisite for such successes.

The Kolomna Diesel Locomotive Manufacturers are making a considerable contribution to improving locomotive and ship diesel engines which are of great importance to improving the work of the country's transportation system. The desire of this collective to make use in designs and production of the latest engineering and technological solutions, actively guided by the party organization, was manifested, for example, in the development of a standardized series of diesel engines for locomotives, ships, drilling systems, and portable diesel generators developing from 800 to 6,000 horsepower and distinguished by high technical and economic characteristics. With the support of the Moscow Oblast Party Committee, the Kolomna workers were among the initiators of the socialist competition developed in the oblast under the slogan of "Highly Effective Equipment for the 10th Five-Year Plan."

The Khar'kov Serp i Molot Motors Manufacturing Plant has achieved, while the Minsk Motors Plant is completing the conversion of produced diesel engines to a new effective fuel mixing method. The engines which these enterprises will supply the national economy in 1978 will make possible the saving of 120,000 tons of fuel per year.

A promising type of general purpose diesel engines systematically developed in heavy and transportation machine building with the participation of scientists from the Central Scientific Research Diesel Institute (TsNIDI) will reduce their variety by 30 percent and insure the most expeditious satisfaction of national economic requirements. This solution of the problem has already made possible to stop the production of any obsolete engine models.

In the automotive industry engines are being energetically improved through the use of highly effective parts, assemblies, and units. Good results in upgrading engine economy and reliability have been achieved following the organization of large-scale specialized production of new carburetors and modern filters made of highly porous paper for air, fuel, and oil filtering at the Dimitrovgrad and Livny Motor Units Plants.

Thus domestic motor manufacturing has covered a long way and is on the level of leading scientific and technical achievements for a number of indicators.

Yet, the present stage in the development of the economy faces the motor manufacturing industry with new major and responsible assignments. The increasing role of this sector is manifested, above all, in the increased unit power of produced engines and, in the final account, in upgrading the productivity of productive capital the power.

Thus, in the post-war period, the maximal power developed by motors of agricultural tractors rose from 35 to 300 horsepower. The power developed by ship engines rose nearly 10 times and that of diesel locomotives 5 times. Today trucks are equipped with engines developing a maximal power of 290 to 340 horsepower, whereas 15 years ago it did not exceed 110-180 horsepower. According to the specialists motor power will continue to rise in the future.

As the basic mobile power source, internal combustion engines will obviously retain in the future a number of important advantages compared with the other types of power generating systems: Greater fuel economy, greater adaptability to changed work regimens and adaptability to total automation, and fast recovering of capital investments. This entrusts engine manufacturers with great responsibility for the quality of the work in the sector and its effectiveness.

It is pleasing to note that a number of collectives of scientists, designers, and production workers are purposefully working on technical improvements of engines and that the party committees pay greater attention to this problem. In recent years the production of several tens of good engine models has been organized. They include, for example, the already named diesel engine for KamAZ vehicles, developed by the Yaroslavl' Motor Builders, the Vladimir Air Cooled Tractor Diesel Engines, awarded the 1977 USSR State Prize, four-stroke locomotive diesel engines manufactured by the Kolomna Diesel Locomotive Makers, and many others. The measures implemented to improve the engines made possible to save in 1977 alone 750,000 tons of fuel and 80,000 tons of lubricating oil.

Giving its due to this positive aspect of the work, let us note that substantial shortcomings remain which hold back scientific and technical progress in engine manufacturing. Considering that it plays an important role in upgrading production effectiveness in many national economic sectors, in June 1976 the CPSU Central Committee passed a decree on upgrading further the technical standard of internal combustion engines and of the quality of oils and fuels.

Ministries and departments have been instructed to insure in the course of the 10th Five-Year Plan the radical improvement of technical-economic indicators and qualities of the produced engines and oils and lubricants. They must implement comprehensive work programs aimed at the technical improvement of the engines, paying particular attention to considerably upgrading their economic running. They have also been asked to broaden the production of tri-quality motor fuels and oil additives.

However, so far some ministries and departments have not developed on the necessary scale work on the implementation of a number of important tasks based on this decree. The formulated comprehensive programs are still insufficiently focused on radically improving the quality of produced engines and on the development of a design base for the future.

The topical tasks related to the further acceleration of scientific and technical progress in engine manufacturing and in improving the operation of the engines in the country, stemming from the decisions of the December 1977 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the instructions contained in Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's plenum speech, were discussed, as we know, at the Central Committee conference held at the end of March 1978 attended by heads of ministries and departments, general and chief designers, directors of scientific research institutes, production associations and machine building enterprises, and heads of the chemical, petroleum refining, and petrochemical industries, agriculture, rail and automotive transportation, and maritime, fishing, and river fleets.

The extensive exchange of views at the conference made possible the profound and comprehensive study of the situation in engine manufacturing and related national economic areas, on the basis of the requirements of the party's economic course, and to determine new and specific ways of an organizational, scientific and technical, and economic nature for the further improvement of engines and their operation. Particular attention was paid to the need of considerably accelerating the development of new and progressive types of engine equipment. The task was also formulated of developing a broad movement for the economical and thrifty attitude toward the utilization of fuels and oils in all national economic sectors using internal combustion engines.

On the basis of the party's Central Committee conference a decision was made according to which the heads of the respective departments and ministries were instructed to consider the suggestions and consideration expressed by the participants to the meeting and to implement the related practical measures.

2.

Upgrading the economical nature of the engines produced is a main direction in the development of engine manufacturing at the present stage. However, we must note that we are still manufacturing engines which do not match the most progressive achievements in terms of specific fuel and lubricant outlays. Yet, as a result of the increased availability of motor equipment in the national economy, in the past seven years alone the need for liquid fuels and oils has risen 50 percent. Currently the fuel and lubricant consumption for the operation of engines is the equivalent of the amount of all petroleum products produced by the country in 1962.

The importance of the effective utilization of fuel and energy resources is growing further and further. Even though our country has considerable natural petroleum deposits extraction is moving to an ever greater extent to the northern areas, Western Siberia, and the East. This involves a considerable growth of capital investments in the petroleum industry and raises the cost of the fuel. All this gives priority to the economical utilization of petroleum products in the national economy. Yet, success

in resolving the problem largely depends precisely on the state of affairs in the manufacturing and operation of internal combustion engines.

If we look at our most advanced automotive, transportation, and tractor engines, their current fuel consumption has been reduced by 5-10 percent compared with the beginning of the 1960's. A similar problem must be resolved for the entire range of produced engines in the course of one-half to one-third of that time. The economic importance of the solution of this problem is tremendous as fuel outlays could be reduced by approximately 10 million tons per year.

All this will demand of motor builders the adoption of a new approach in all directions--scientific, technical, economic, and organizational, use of essentially new engineering solutions, broadening the research and development front, and profoundly penetrating into many secrets of science and technology. Naturally, this method has its own "sound barrier" whose surmounting requires a decisive acceleration of scientific research, focusing on it the efforts and creativity of scientists, specialists, and workers.

However, some of our enterprises have not as yet developed sufficiently broadly the struggle for upgrading the economical nature of produced engines. Let us cite the following example.

For quite some time the Gor'kiy Automotive Plant has been manufacturing 75 horsepower gasoline engines for 2.5 ton trucks. Their specific fuel outlay is 10 percent higher than that of similar engines of better design. At the end of the present five-year plan, the production of the planned figure of such engines could result in the overexpenditure of a large amount of gasoline. However, the plant's economic management is not taking the necessary measures to improve the economy of the produced engines. We should also seriously take to task the plant's party committee which has failed to ascribe the necessary importance to the planned solution of such an important problem and increased its exactingness toward leading cadres. The assistance which the Gor'kiy Automotive Plant is receiving from the Ministry of Automotive Industry and the planning organs has been insufficient.

Naturally, we must not belittle the complexity of upgrading the economical nature of engines. In this area, as the saying goes, every gram and percentage gained call for creative scientific thinking, new technology, and great experience. However, any effort in this respect would be justified. Specialists estimated that on the scale of our economy reducing fuel outlays by one gram per hour per horsepower alone would mean saving almost one million tons of fuel per year. That is something to work on, persistently at that!

No less acute is the problem of lowering the consumption of motor oils. This is another very essential factor in the development of economical engines. Yet, as we know, the situation in this field is no better.

Let us take as an example our familiar agricultural equipment--the Kolos Combines, T-150 tractors, sugarbeet harvesting complexes, and self-propelling fodder harvesting combines. These machines are equipped with diesel engines developing 150 horsepower or more. They are designed by the Khar'kov Design Bureau. This is a strong and experience collective which has made a major contribution to the extensive conversion of tractors to diesel engines, a fact which played an important role in agricultural industrialization.

The 150 horsepower diesel engine created by this collective displays quite good characteristics in terms of fuel savings. However, its oil consumption exceeds the indicators of the best modern engines. Consequently, the over-consumption of oil in the use of Khar'kov manufactured engines today reaches 3,000 tons per year. Unquestionably, with a more responsible approach and the necessary persistence the Khar'kov designers would be able to achieve substantial results in reducing oil outlays.

The Penza Diesel Engines Plant of the Ministry of Heavy and Transport Machine Building produces a considerable percentage of all diesel engines for railroad depot locomotives. Its basic model is the 1,200 horsepower D-50 model which consumes considerably more oil than modern engines of the same type. This diesel engine has been in production for many years. Until recently, however, the plant's design bureau did little to make it more economical.

In some cases even recently developed engines are below contemporary technical standards. This has occurred, for example, at the Chelyabinsk Tractors and Tokmak Diesel Manufacturing Plants.

It is important to develop a reliable block to prevent the manufacturing of obsolete engines along all lines--economic, planning, and party.

It is clear that lowering the consumption of fuels and lubricants is closely related also to upgrading their quality. Speaking of motor oils, currently the petroleum refining and petrochemical industries are not producing sufficient oil additives. The effectiveness of many additives remains low. According to the plan of the USSR Ministry of Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry, even toward the end of the current five-year plan over one-third of the motor oils will be supplied without highly effective additives. Approximately the same ratios will be maintained for low octane gasolines and diesel fuels with high sulfur content whose use has also an adverse effect on the operation of the engines. The Ministry of Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry and the planning organs should consider such matters further and find possibilities for increasing the production of high quality fuels and lubricants.

3.

Let us now consider some of the most topical scientific and technical directions for making engines more economical and, above all, problems whose successful solution could yield substantial economic benefits in the immediate future.

Many automotive plants are delaying the application of an important domestic achievement--precombustion chamber engines which save up to 10 percent fuel and lower the toxicity of gas emissions. No major capital investments are required for converting to the production of such engines. It is to be hoped that the Ministry of Automotive Industry, the ZIL Management, and the party committee of the same plant which has long mastered the design of this new pension, as well as the managers and party organizations of other automotive plants will energetically undertake the practical utilization of this major reserve for increasing the economical nature of gasoline engines.

Our motor manufacturing industry does not make sufficient use of a proven means for upgrading diesel engine effectiveness such as supercharger. This, as we know, saves a great deal of fuel. Furthermore, engine power is increased by almost 50 percent while engine weight remains virtually identical. However, so far few supercharger diesel engines are being produced by the plants of the ministries of heavy and transport machine building and tractor and agricultural machine building.

The use of an engineering solution such as the intermediate air cooling in a supercharger insures a further increase in engine power and lowered fuel consumption. This progressive method is applied only with 20 percent of the diesel engines produced by the enterprises of the Ministry of Heavy and Transport Machine Building and for only one model manufactured at the Khar'kov Tractor Engines Plant.

Improvements in the economical nature and general technical standards of engines largely depend on the use of more advanced complementing assemblies and parts. Let us take the piston ring as an example. It is precisely the quality of this part that basically predetermines the solution of the problem of reducing engine oil consumption. For more than 10 years the country has had the experience of the use of a technology and design of special machine tools for the manufacturing of high quality rings. Yet, the Ministry of Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry is developing this project too slowly.

Organizing the production of high quality piston rings in the necessary amounts would enable us to reach the contemporary level of oil consumption not only for the produced engines but for most motors currently used. Possibilities must be found to accelerate the organization of the production of machine tools for the manufacturing of modern piston rings.

Further improvements in the designs of other parts, assemblies, and units could yield major results in raising the technical standard of internal combustion engines.

Motor manufacturing specialists have also reasons to believe that in order to upgrade to a maximum the main reserve of the engines--greater economy--extensive studies must be made by academic and sectorial scientists of operational processes. The purpose would be not only to lower fuel consumption but to resolve another exceptionally important problem--the lowering of toxicity.

Practical experience also calls for improving the utilization of fuel and energy resources in order to improve the work of engines and thus create the possibility to use fuels with a wider fractional structure, gasoline mixed with other types of fuel, natural gases, and basically new types of fuel. Obviously, on a parallel basis, science faces the task of studying, together with motor manufacturers, petrochemists, and operational workers, for the creation of optimum engine fuels consistent with the requirements of modern higher powered engines.

The economy and productivity of engine equipped machinery should be achieved by accelerating the development and applying a system of automated control, using electronic facilities. This is directly related to the problem of reaching high stability of basic engine characteristics. The practical method for its solution is to equip motor builders with modern control and diagnostic equipment and automated engine testing systems. The use of such systems is not as important in improving the quality of scientific research. Practical experience proves that the implementation of such measures upgrades the economical indicators of motors no less than 10-20 percent.

Particular attention should be paid to the major problem of converting the automotive fleet to diesel engines. Its economical significance is universally acknowledged. Diesel engines consume approximately 30 percent less fuel whose cost, furthermore, is nearly three times lower than that of gasoline. Bearing in mind the structure of petroleum refining, it would be justifiable to convert to diesel engines up to 65 percent of the entire output of trucks and 20 percent of passenger cars. Such a ratio in the production of diesel and gasoline engines would enable us to reduce in the future the annual fuel consumption in the country by approximately 10 million tons.

For the 11th Five-Year Plan the Ministry of Automotive Industry should plan the faster development of capacities for the production of motor vehicle diesel engines. A number of decisions have already been passed on this matter (on building a new diesel plant for the CIL and the expansion of the Yaroslavl' Motors Plant). Designers at the ZIL, GAZ, and Yaroslavl' Motors Plants should accelerate the development of diesel designs on the highest possible technical level.

Comprehensive preparations must be made for the work to be accomplished in the next five-year plan. The blueprints for engines whose production will be mastered must already be available to plants under construction.

The conversion to diesel engines has long been accomplished in the tractor manufacturing industry. Now this sector must increase the production of modern diesel engines for powerful tractors and self-propelling agricultural equipment. The decision has been made to build a big diesel engines plant. Funds have been allocated to initiate its construction and a design for a diesel engine has been developed. The Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building must accelerate the solution of problems related to organizing the construction of this enterprise.

Improving engine economy is one of the most important tasks in motor manufacturing. However, this does not mean that less attention should be paid to other problems which determine the technical level and quality of the engines. This includes reliability, power, and metal intensiveness. The task is to raise the characteristics of all engines to a leading scientific and technical level within a short time.

Without discussing all the specific aspects of these problems, let us consider the most essential ones. We know how urgently Comrade L. I. Brezhnev raised at the December Central Committee Plenum the question of saving on metal. The party's Central Committee demanded of the state organs to formulate a system of measures aimed at sharply lowering metal outlays.

The extent to which this task directly applies to motor building is confirmed by the fact that a considerable percentage of manufactured engines have a higher specific metal intensiveness compared with modern achievements. Approximately 250,000 tons of metal are unproductively used in their manufacturing. It is particularly important now for each motor building collective to launch an extensive struggle for metal economy and for improving the weight characteristics of the engines.

A no less topical task is that of raising engine power, since some engines manufactured for the national economy are still behind the contemporary level reached in this area.

This situation inevitably calls for creating in the country an essentially entire repair industry. Already now there are over 1,500 enterprises in this sector employing 140,000 people. So far an excessively large number of rolled metal is being used to manufacture engine spare parts.

All this confirms the adamant requirement of dealing seriously and daily with problems of extending the service life and reliability of the engines, making full use to this effect of the increased potential of our motor building industry.

Active scientific help should also contribute to the solution of such problems. Obviously, the immediate task is to extend the service life of tractor, automotive, and transportation engines between capital repairs. This is one of the basic problems in motor manufacturing. It calls for energetic studies and development in motor building and in literally all related sectors. New ways must be found to increase the durability and strength of parts and assemblies, and to improve their design. As the specialists claim, good results could be obtained in particular through the more extensive use of powder metallurgy and plasma and laser technology.

Progressive technology based on the use of high precision metal processing machine tools and measurement tools, and of the most advanced forge-press and heat processing equipment. It is a question of comprehensively improving motor manufacturing, raising its standards, and implementing most rapidly new scientific ideas and designs.

Speaking of the condition and development of motor manufacturing, we must face all departments directly involved in this realm of activities with major claims. Above all, the collegiums of the ministries of automotive industry, tractor and agricultural machine building, and heavy and transport machine building must energize their activities and wage an even more active struggle for the acceleration of scientific and technical progress in motor manufacturing. An atmosphere of intolerance of shortcomings must be developed in which the ministries' party committees must exert their influence. The technical managements of the ministries which are still poorly coping with their main tasks and direct functions in the implementation of a purposeful technical policy, must considerably improve their work.

The experimental base remains a bottleneck even though the need to strengthen it has been pointed out repeatedly. Some heads of institutes and design bureaus and enterprises occasionally fail to display the necessary responsibility for the development of new motor equipment; party control as well in this area has been found to be frequently weakened.

It would be unnecessary to prove the importance of a good design base. This is a basic problem in accelerating progress in all technological fields. However, it is still frequently underrated. Obviously, this is the only explanation for the fact that occasionally nothing is available to replace obsolete equipment.

The scientific and technical potential developed in the country enables our scientists and designers to assume a leading position in world motor building. The scientific research and design organizations must actively work on the development of progressive engine designs which would successfully compete with the best foreign models.

In order to accelerate scientific and technical progress in motor manufacturing the work must be organized in such a way that all activities of engineering, design, and scientific collectives be imbued by a spirit of innovation and bold searches, directed toward resolving the problems formulated by the country's economy, and be fully consistent with the party's course toward upgrading work effectiveness and quality. This calls for considerably intensifying the educational work of the party organizations and organizing more specific party control over all activities related to the development of new equipment.

Many economic managers link the acceleration of technical progress exclusively with capital investments. Obviously, the formation of this problem is natural in resolving major problems related to the development of new equipment. Our state is allocating substantial funds for the development of motor building enterprises. Such funds must be sensibly handled and concentrated along the main directions. However, frequently the allocated capital investments are not used fully. This seriously harms technical progress and the increased capacity of the motor manufacturing industry. The ministries of automotive industry, tractor and agricultural machine

building, and heavy and transport machine building, as well as the construction ministries and the local party organs must pay most serious attention to this matter.

Let us also emphasize that the implementation of many measures for the development of new equipment does not require substantial allocations and, with the proper attitude on the part of ministry managements, funds for such purposes could always be found.

Upgrading engine technical standards is, naturally, a complex problem. Its successful solution largely depends on the quality of initial materials and complementing goods. This involves a broad range of problems for whose solution the motor manufacturers must be provided all-round aid. Yet, the ministries of ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, chemical, petroleum refining, and petrochemical industries, an machine tool and instruments building industries do not always meet the requests of motor manufacturers.

For example, problems of supplying motor manufacturing plants with high grade steels, special alloys, a number of industrial rubber goods, improved quality materials and complementing assemblies, and technological equipment are not being resolved completely. The USSR Gosplan, the USSR Gosnab, and State Committee for Science and Technology do not sufficiently coordinate the solution of such problems. Let us recall that the motor builders and workers in related areas are also responsible for the acceleration of scientific and technical progress in motor manufacturing. This should be taken into consideration in the work of the party organizations as well.

5.

The acceleration of scientific and technical progress and the increased effectiveness of motor manufacturing directly depend on the speed with which the further improvements in the structure of such manufacturing could be developed and the extent to which production concentration and specialization, standardization of produced goods, and improved management will be actively promoted. The characteristic feature of the development of our motor manufacturing at the present stage is, precisely, that it contains practically useable tremendous opportunities for large-scale specialized output as the basis for the most extensive utilization of progressive technology and highly productive equipment.

Extensive work is being done in this respect in the motor vehicle, tractor, and heavy and transport machine building fields. Many specialized motor manufacturing plants and enterprises producing mass parts and assemblies have been organized and are developing. For example, the specialization of the Yaroslavl' Motor Plant made possible to increase the production of vehicle diesel engines 3.3 times. About 90 percent of the output consists of diesel engines developing 180 horsepower or more. The line adopted by motor manufacturers in recent years of giving priority to standardized series of engines

consisting of base models with modifications of identical size have become major prerequisites for production concentration and specialization.

Yet, so far major possibilities, above all within the sector, remain unused. Frequently, engines of similar indicators and purpose are produced in different sizes. This hinders their production concentration and utilization. The most urgent aspect of the matter is the design and technological standardization of mass consumption parts. The respective ministries should pay considerably greater attention to the solution of these problems.

It is equally obvious that all proper grounds exist for promoting systematically intersectorial standardization motors and for specializing in their manufacturing, particularly in the area of motor vehicle and tractor diesels, as being most similar to each other in terms of characteristics and technological features.

It is entirely clear that the role of the USSR Gosplan, the State Committee for Science and Technology, and the USSR Gosstandart must be enhanced in accelerating the efforts to improve the organization of engine manufacturing. The creation of the necessary conditions for the more effective coordination of the efforts of scientists and specialists along the most important directions and for strengthening the links between science and production assumes great importance. Serious attention should be paid to improving planning and economic incentive in developing a design base for the future and improving the methods for assessing the extent to which this base is ready to be put to production use.

6.

Scientific norms are the most important tool in a planned economy. The importance of well-organized norming in the efficient utilization of fuel and energy resources is particularly great. Yet, judging by the circumstance which prevails in the allocation of petroleum products, in many cases norms not only fail to control the effective consumption of fuels and oils but, conversely, as though adapt themselves to factual and frequently higher consumption rates.

Today over one-third of the gasoline and diesel fuel consumed in the country are distributed according to the departmental norms based on accountability-statistical economic data. Certainly, it would be difficult to rely on the technical substantiation of such norms. However, they are the ones used by the river and fishing fleets, departmental railroads, and agricultural combines.

A stricter system must be developed to govern petroleum products. We must improve the procedure for the elaboration and approval of norms and intensify control over their observation. The solution of these problems must be undertaken by the USSR Gosplan, USSR Gosstat, and sectorial ministries.

Improving the use of the engines is of essential significance. It is a question, above all, of the planned lowering of outlays for such purposes. Billions of rubles are spent on the technical servicing of engines, including various types of repairs. Yet, many facilities are not engaged in an adamant effort to reduce operational outlays for the sake of saving on petroleum products, lowering the cost of repairs, and eliminating the direct losses incurred here. So far the socialist competition has not been adequately developed in such matters. In a word, as yet many enterprises fail to pay daily attention to following a system of savings.

It is commonly known that automotive transportation is the biggest consumer of petroleum products. We already mentioned how difficult it is for our designers sometimes to improve the economy of engines. Yet, it is no secret that a great deal of fuel is spilled on the ground in refuelling motor vehicles and in storing fuel. A recent study of about 100 automotive enterprises of the RSFSR Ministry of Automotive Transportation showed that 50 percent of them had shortcomings in their petroleum product accounts and many enterprises allowed fuel overexpenditures.

In some places conditions governing capital engine repairs are poor. Practical experience shows that after capital repairs, frequently, the safe life of an engine is frequently far below the level based on contemporary requirements.

We already discussed some problems and existing shortcomings in the development of motor manufacturing. They must be clearly seen in order to actively eliminate anything which delays scientific and technical progress in this sector.

The ministries must become more demanding toward the scientific design, and planning organizations and enterprises. They must intensify their organizational work for the implementation of effective measures for the acceleration of scientific and technical progress in motor manufacturing and, above all, in the directions which will enable us to insure high returns with small capital outlays.

The USSR Gosplan and the State Committee for Science and Technology, with the participation of the interested ministries and departments, must review and supplement the formulated comprehensive programs for the immediate and long-term future related to the development of new designs and updating produced engines. The entire work must be directed toward attaining the most advanced scientific-technical levels. It is also necessary for related problems to be extensively and critically discussed by the collectives and party organizations of scientific research institutes and design bureaus.

In his speech at the 18th Komsomol Congress, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out, yet once again, that today, more than ever before, it is important to make skillful, sensible, and thrifty use of the powerful economic potential developed in our country, put it properly on the service of the people, and derive from it maximal benefits.

In recent years valuable initiatives have been launched in the development of collective work methods for improving motors and their operation. This is a new manifestation of the creative approach to the ripe problems of scientific and technical progress and of the desire to find their best possible solution.

A clear example of this is given by the Moscow automotive plant I.A. Likhachev. Several years ago, the personnel of this plant, the Main Moscow Automotive Transportation Administration, and the Central Scientific Research Automotive and Automotive Motors Institute (NAMI) concluded a contract for joint work aimed at improving the quality, and upgrading the reliability and extending the service life of ZIL motor vehicles and engines. A number of weak spots in the designs were discovered through joint efforts and measures were implemented for their elimination. This increased the durability of parts and assemblies; engine safe life rose 25 percent and the consumption of spare parts declined. The ZIL method was followed by the Minsk and Gor'kiy automotive manufacturers.

The practical activities of the Vladimir motor manufacturers in the field of the technical retooling of output and upgrading its quality, headed by the plant's party organization, and based on the 5-year plan for technical progress, scientific organization of labor, and social development of the collective, are indicative. The Vladimirskiy Traktorny Zavod A.A. Zhdanov Association was the first in the country to develop a family of air-cooled diesel engines and organize their large-scale assembly line-mass production. A number of complex engineering problems were successfully resolved in the course of the development of this production facility and new technological processes were mastered. Responding to the decisions of the December 1977 party Central Committee plenum and the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers, AUCCTU, and Komsomol Central Committee "Letter on Developing the Socialist Competition for the Fulfillment and Overfulfillment of the 1978 Plan and Intensifying the Struggle for Upgrading Production Effectiveness and Work Quality," the Vladimir workers energized the movement for earning the state Emblem of Quality for each produced item. At present the emblem is carried by all Vladimir engines.

Good experience was acquired by the Vilnyus fuel equipment plant. Here, with the support of the republic's party organization, a special shop was set up to repair the fuel pumps of tractor engines used in kolkhozes and sovkhozes. The economic benefits of this action are substantial. The use of industrial repair methods in an industrial enterprise has made possible considerably to improve the quality of repair works, reduce the need for spare parts and, something of equal importance, increase the responsibility of the plant for the technical standards of its output.

Such work methods are worthy of approval and dissemination. It is very important in summing up the results of the socialist competition among motor manufacturers to give priority to the fulfillment of obligations in the field of mastering new equipment and upgrading quality indicators.

The problems of scientific and technical progress in motor manufacturing must be the object of the constant attention of kray, oblast, and city party committees and primary party organizations. Mass-political and organizational work among collectives of motor manufacturers and of personnel in related sectors must be intensified. Their creative energy must be directed to the solution of their important problems.

The documents of the 25th CPSU Congress and Central Committee plenums, and the reports, addresses, and articles authored by Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, including his works "Malaya Zemlya" and "Vozrozhdeniye" [Rebirth], are a priceless treasury of the experience acquired in party-political and educational work, and the strongest ideological weapon of the party and the people in the struggle for peace and for the triumph of communism. They are being extensively studied by the party members and all working people in the country, promoting in the Soviet people feelings of inspiring optimism and a new incentive for the constructive creativity of the masses. They call to new labor accomplishments in the implementation of economic and cultural construction tasks.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's trip to Siberia and the Far East and his encounters and talks with workers, Soviet army and navy personnel, and party-economic activists were another vivid manifestation of the unbreakable unity between the party and the entire Soviet people. The party members and all working people in our country accepted Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's instructions and recommendations as a manual for action. They are fully resolved to implement them and to work even more energetically for the fulfillment of the 10th Five-Year Plan in order to increase the power of our great socialist homeland and its confident progress on the path to the building of communism.

5003

CSO: 1802

FOR COOPERATION IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE ARMS RACE AND FOR DISARMAMENT

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 7, May 1978 pp 38-50

[Speech by B. Ponomarev, CPSU Central Committee politbureau candidate member and CPSU Central Committee secretary, at the disarmament conference held by the Socialist International, in Helsinki on 24 April 1978]

[Text] The fact that the Socialist International has convened a conference on the most important international problem of today could only be welcomed.

Accepting the invitation, we proceeded from the basic and unchanged position held by our party which considers the establishment of a durable peace and the prevention of a new world war the primary task of our time. Our party has favored and favors cooperation with the social democrats above all on matters of peace and detente. This line is fully consistent with the conclusions reached at the 1976 Berlin Conference of Communist and Workers Parties of Europe, which expressed itself in favor of a dialogue and cooperation with the socialist and social democratic parties.

The approach of the Soviet Union to problems of disarmament stems from the principled position of our country on problems of war and peace and the assessment of the specific situation which has developed in the international arena.

In recent years collective efforts led to the fact that the cold war has retreated and detente has become the leading trend in international developments. Relations among countries with different social systems have changed for the better. That which has already been accomplished has put off the threat of war but, alas, not eliminated it. Currently, throughout the world, the people are becoming more concerned by the fact that even under the conditions of positive political changes in the international arena an unrestrained arms race is continuing.

Under such circumstances the main forces within the workers movement assume the particular responsibility of jointly working for a real change in the struggle for military detente and for a cessation of an endless stockpiling

of armaments. Coming from the distant past we hear like the tolling of a bell Jaures' call, the remembrance of whom is equally dear to communists and socialists:

"We must channel our entire energy in the struggle against the policy of murders, wars, and greedy conquests which threaten peace on earth."

I.

The arms race has assumed a truly global scale, becoming an unprecedented danger in the history of mankind. It is hanging over each country and all nations and future generations. The growth of nuclear armaments is accompanied by the growth of conventional weapons. Currently many estimates are being made on the destructive force of weapons currently stockpiled by mankind. Such figures could be described only as capable of turning our blood into ice.

Today it is practically impossible to describe the real danger threatening mankind in terms of, for example, the conventional measures used in the last world war. The two atom bombs alone dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki destroyed hundreds of thousands of lives. To this day people are continuing to die from the effect of these explosions. According to data of the United Nations Secretary General, today's nuclear arsenal equals the power of over 1.3 million bombs of the Hiroshima type. Practical nuclear weapons deployed on the European continent alone exceed by several hundred percent the explosive power of the weapons used in the entire six years of World War Two.

It would be difficult even to imagine this. However, Western experts have estimated that there are today 15 tons of mortal materials, computed in terms of standard explosives, for every person on earth, including infants. Nevertheless--even though absurdly but as a fact--the arms race is continuing. This creates an unparalleled threat to mankind, militarily, economically, and politically.

Spreading like cancer, a military economy wastes tremendous manpower, natural, production, and financial resources. According to the report of the United Nations secretary general, the funds spent on the arms race since World War Two exceed the astronomical figure of \$6 trillion. Every year military expenditures throughout the world are close to \$400 billion. These expenditures have a steadily ascending trend, for weapons are not simply being stockpiled; they are not simply becoming ever more powerful and complex, but their cost is rising constantly as well: Today a tank, submarine, or airplane is several dozen or even hundreds of percent more expensive than 30 years ago.

Over 50 million people are involved in military affairs. Ever greater results of scientific thinking are sacrificed to the moloch of war. Almost 400,000 first grade scientists, engineers, and technicians are employed in this field.

No one who remembers the events of the past 30 years could deny that it is precisely the NATO countries, the United States above all, who are the initiators and leaders in the arms race. Let us recall the development of the arms race, starting with the end of World War Two, from which the peoples emerged with the hope that they would never again have to experience a tragedy on such a scale.

In August 1945 atom bombs were exploded over Japan. The Soviet Union suggested that this new terrible weapon be abandoned. However, this was rejected by the West. The only conclusion we could draw was that this weapon was being improved and stockpiled against the Soviet Union. Four years later our country as well created the atomic weapon.

In April 1949 the North Atlantic Pact was concluded openly against the Soviet Union and countries friendly to it. Six years later the forced answer came--the conclusion of the Warsaw Pact. However, the pact included the article that it would be disbanded the moment the NATO bloc is abolished.

In the 1950's a noisy campaign was launched in America on the subject of an alleged "gap" between the United States and the USSR in the field of bombers. It was acknowledged, soon afterwards, that the campaign was absolutely groundless. However, under its accompaniment a fleet of strategic B-52 bombers was created.

At the beginning of the 1960's a similar campaign was launched in the United States on the subject of the "missile lag." It too was soon afterwards officially acknowledged as groundless. Meanwhile, however, a new leap in the arms race was made--the United States deployed over 1,000 intercontinental strategic missiles and an entire fleet of missile equipped submarines. Naturally, the Soviet Union had to take corresponding measures.

At the beginning of the 1970's Washington decided to equip the missiles with multiple warheads. This raised the number of American nuclear warheads several hundred percent. Once again, the Soviet missiles who are currently the subject of such noises in the West were the answer to that leap in the arms race made by the United States.

But, enough spoken, perhaps, about the past. Let us consider what is taking place now--again with a noisy accompaniment of a campaign concerning the "Soviet menace." An entire set of new types and systems of weapons is being developed--cruise missiles, neutron weapons, Trident submarines, MX missiles, and others. The Soviet Union is blamed for developing a powerful navy. However, nothing is being said of the expansion of the naval forces of the United States and other NATO countries. Yet, quite recently, on 11 April, U.S. Secretary of Defense Brown stated to a congressional subcommittee that "we want our navy to be present in peacetime throughout the world," and announced a five-year program for the expansion of the U.S. navy at the cost of \$32 billion.

To what a point will this spiral rise, capable only of undermining international security? The Soviet Union is adamantly working for preventing new such spirals.

An ever larger number of countries are being drawn into the whirlpool of the arms race. Nor are the developing countries spared. Yet, the cessation of the arms race is one of the most important prerequisites for the fastest possible elimination of the economic backwardness of Asian, African, and Latin American countries. The strengthening of international security would make it possible to allocate considerably greater funds to assisting the development of the young countries.

Hardly anyone would question the fact that the further it grows the greater obstructions the arms race creates on the path of economic and social progress. Swollen military budgets aggravate inflation. They are a severe burden on the shoulders of millions of working people in the capitalist countries. We know that investments in war production provide considerably lesser amount of new jobs compared with investments in the civilian sectors. Therefore, the arms race not only does not resolve but intensifies the problem of unemployment. It promotes processes of militarization of the society and creates nutritive grounds for the growth of rightwing and extreme rightwing movements and forces, and of neo-fascist and terrorist groups.

Under the conditions of the arms race the socialist states as well are forced to spend substantial funds for defense, funds which our people would prefer to use for the satisfaction of their growing material and cultural requirements.

Currently global problems are being actively discussed in the world. How to find a radical solution to the problem of energy resources, how to uproot mass diseases, hunger, and cultural backwardness, how to prevent catastrophic changes in the environment? All these are problems of tremendous, truly universal scale. No simple answer could be provided. One thing is clear, however, that there solution calls for the investment of huge funds which is hindered by the uninterrupted arms race.

It is usually said that international tension, an atmosphere of mistrust, and conflict situations in relations among countries urge on the arms race. Naturally, this is accurate. Yet, today, something else is no less accurate. The arms race has acquired its own logic. Essentially, it has become an independent source for worsening relations among countries. Instigating suspicion, mistrust, and fear, it undermines efforts aimed at the promotion of reciprocal understanding and cooperation. It hinders the implementation of plans and of already reached agreements.

The arms race hinders the cessation of local international conflicts, whether in the Middle East or any other part of the world. Their prolongation and aggravation effect the entire system of intergovernmental relations. In turn, this provides new impulses to the arms race. Furthermore, the very atmosphere of oversaturation with weapons makes such conflicts particularly complex and grave.

We must mention China's policy. China is rapidly increasing all types of armaments, nuclear weapons included. The accelerated militarization of that country is particularly dangerous, for China has territorial claims against its neighbors. In its policy it stems from the thesis that a new world war is inevitable. While arming itself, Peking openly calls for a comprehensive intensification of the arms race. It tries to torpedo any international action aimed at restraining it. China, which declined to join the treaty banning nuclear tests in the three media, is continuing its tests in the atmosphere igniting the protests of many countries.

Finally, the most dangerous aspect of the matter is that the arms race creates and steadily nurtures the threat of a nuclear catastrophe. This problem has been discussed for quite some time by political and social figures and scientists. For quite some time attention has been justifiably drawn to the fact that, essentially, the arms race represents material preparations for war. The monstrous arsenals of nuclear missiles stockpiled in its course inevitably carry the risk not only of deliberate but of an accidental use of such weapons, which could turn into a fuse for a universal nuclear war.

The threat of the "dissemination," of the further proliferation of nuclear weapons is very alarming. According to some estimates, today some 30 countries are already able to develop such weapons. They include countries such as the Union of South Africa, which hurls through its racist policy a challenge not only to black Africa but to the entire international community. They include Israel, whose policies constantly trigger grave conflicts in one of the most explosive prone areas on our planet. It is understandable, therefore, that the proliferation of nuclear weapons drastically increases the risk that someone would try to use them for purposes of political blackmail or even to launch such weapons.

These facts are quite well known. Today, however, the world stands on the threshold of a new stage, a new spiral in the arms race, a spiral which could undermine even the relative stability which has existed in the military field and, thus, intensify the threat of war.

In particular, a line has been developed of the creation of weapons types and systems which seem to eliminate the distinction between nuclear and conventional wars. U.S. technical and military thinking is intensively working on this. Furthermore, with the help of propaganda promoting the "merits" of miniature "clean" mass destruction weapons, an attempt is being made to make the people absorb the stupid idea of the "admissibility" of the application of such a specific type of nuclear weapon without this triggering a universal nuclear war. The purpose of all this is to weaken the vigilance of mankind. Today there are ever greater references also of possibilities for the development of weapons systems which would urge on the fear of the possibility of a so-called "first," i.e., disarming strike. Finally, weapons systems are being developed leading to the fact that the arms race could exceed the limits of all conceivable control, becoming a totally uncontrolled political means. All this intensifies the threat of a nuclear war.

All these are dangers which await us, metaphorically speaking, as we turn the next corner. Yet, the possibility that even more destructive and essentially new types of weapons may be created in the future exists.

In a word, a critical situation is developing. Time is indeed not waiting. Unless we succeed to achieve a change now, tomorrow the already existing agreements on limiting the arms race will not only become emasculated but new agreements in this area would become difficult to reach. We in the Soviet Union are convinced that unless in the very immediate future decisive measures are taken against the arms race the price for this failure will come high.

II.

Today we would hardly find in the world responsibly thinking politicians who would dare to deny the danger of the arms race. Even circles who in fact promote its continuation are looking for justifications. The main among them is the myth of the "Soviet military threat." It is precisely this threat that has justified all spirals in the arms race in the past 30 years and the ideological platform of the cold war.

In recent years the campaign around the "Soviet threat" has been promoted with particular emphasis. The Western press is publishing ever new fantastic reports on "sinister" Soviet intentions, in imaginable Soviet military programs, or incredible Soviet military expenditures. Characteristically, such reports appear in particularly large numbers precisely when the time comes for the adoption of the next military budget, or the approval of new military programs. It has frequently happened also that following the adoption of the budget acknowledgments appear that exaggerations and inaccuracies were allowed in assessing the Soviet military potential. Recently a propaganda campaign was launched on the subject of the Soviet Union's "violation" of agreements with the United States on limiting strategic armaments. Soon afterwards, there was another official statement that the Soviet Union had not allowed any such violation.

We have had to listen to statements to the effect that our armed forces are too big to be used merely for defensive purposes. However, the authors of such statements suppress, for example, the fact that we have huge borders and the fact that on the other side of such borders far from all countries are friends to the Soviet Union. Do they take into consideration that we must insure the safety of our territory not only in the European but the Asian part of the country?

The NATO generals do not conceal that it is precisely against the Soviet Union that the strategic missiles are aimed; nuclear aircraft carriers and submarines are plodding along seas and oceans and all of them have their targets on our territory and the territories of the other socialist countries. Furthermore, American advance bases exist located along the perimeter of the members of the socialist comity in the immediate vicinity of the Soviet borders.

We can not ignore the fact that in the past 10 years the NATO countries have spent tremendous amounts for military purposes--\$1.3 trillion. One-half of these funds have been spent in the past four years when political conditions had already appeared for limiting armaments and reducing military budgets. In 1977 alone the military expenditures of that bloc totalled about \$180 billion. The military expenditures of the European NATO members are rising particularly rapidly. In the past decade their share in the bloc's military expenditures rose from 22 to 34 percent; military expenditures approximately doubled in the FRG, and tripled in Great Britain. The military budget of small countries such as Belgium and the Netherlands rose approximately 50 percent between 1974 and 1977. The military budgets of other Western countries are rising as well.

These truths can not be avoided when answering the question of why the Soviet Union as well has been forced to pay serious attention to its defense. Let me openly say that no single Soviet person would understand or support a government which would display lack of concern in such matters.

The Soviet people lost 20 million casualties in the war against Hitlerite fascism, defending itself and the entire world from fascist aggression. We do not wish any new casualties. No, we do not!

That is why the Soviet Union has powerful armed forces, improving them, and maintaining their combat capability on the level of modern requirements. However, I deem it my duty to reiterate that the exclusive purpose of our armed forces--on land, air, and sea--is defensive. We consider that the radical solution of the problem of our security and the security of our allies and of all peoples on earth not in the arms race but in normalizing international circumstances, strengthening and intensifying detente, and reorganizing the entire system of international relations on the principles of peaceful coexistence.

All this is profoundly natural to the positions held by the Soviet Union. Our country or the other socialist countries have never had any social groups which would extract profits from war industry. We have no territorial claims against a single country. War propaganda is banned in our country. In recent years thousands of Western delegations and representatives have visited the Soviet Union and all of them have been able to see for themselves that the Soviet people are engaged in peaceful constructive toil. We have tremendous plans for peaceful construction. We do not need war.

The question is could we concoct plans for aggression while, at the same time, promoting the Soviet people respect for other nations and the desire to live with them in an atmosphere of equality, friendship, and broad exchange of true spiritual values?

are aware of our proposals calling for the simultaneous cessation of the production of all types of nuclear weapons by all countries and for the gradual reduction of their stockpiles until they have been totally eliminated. The USSR systematically favors a strengthening of the regime of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and the creation of nuclear free zones. We are adamantly promoting the universal and total cessation of all types of nuclear tests by all countries. Recently the USSR proposed a moratorium on peaceful nuclear explosions in order maximally to clear the way to the solution of this problem.

The Soviet Union has submitted proposals on imposing a ban on all types of mass destruction weapons. For a number of years it is precisely on Soviet initiative that talks are being held on banning and eliminating chemical weapons. We favor the use of all opportunities for the fastest possible conclusion of a convention banning radiological weapons. Finally, it is precisely the Soviet Union that already several years ago initiated the treaty banning the development of many new types and systems of mass destruction weapons, a treaty whose significance becomes particularly topical under the present circumstances.

We are systematically and adamantly promoting the reduction of conventional weapons and armed forces. This is also the objective of draft agreements on the reduction of military budgets and proposals on the elimination of foreign military bases on foreign territories and the withdrawal of foreign troops and armaments from such territories.

Finally, the Soviet Union has formulated a number of proposals of a regional nature aimed at excluding certain areas of the globe from the arms race. Our proposals have dealt with security in Europe and Asia, and measures for strengthening the peace in the Mediterranean and Indian Ocean basins.

Even such a brief survey proves the broad range of initiatives formulated by us in the post-war period and the basic features of our approach to the methods for resolving the disarmament problem. The Soviet disarmament concept stems from the following basic stipulations.

Our approach is comprehensive, all-embracing. Our end purpose is universal and total disarmament. However, we are realists and understand that the reaching of such an objective would require extensive efforts and time. While favoring most radical measures, at the same time we seek possibilities for partial intermediary measures. In this connection allow me to cite the following statement made by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev: " . . . There is no type of weapon, mass destruction weapon above all, which the Soviet Union would not be ready to restrict and ban on a reciprocal basis, in agreement with other states, and, subsequently, remove it from the arsenals."

We are convinced that talks could be effective and agreements on limiting and reducing armaments could be viable only on the basis of the principles of equality and equal security and the abandonment of attempts to obtain unilateral advantages.

It is sometimes said that our revolutionary ideology itself creates the threat of Soviet military expansion. Yet, through the words of the very founder of our party and state, V. I. Lenin, we firmly rejected the theory and policy of "export of the revolution." Our party and Soviet state continue firmly to support this line to this day.

A peace program, one of whose main stipulations is the struggle for a cessation of the arms race, was formulated at the 24th and 25th CPSU Congresses, in the reports by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary. The desire of the Soviet Union for peace and for insuring international security, and the fact that the sole and exclusive purpose of our armed forces is to meet defense requirements have been mentioned on numerous occasions and on the highest level.

The Soviet Union "will never take the path of aggression. It will never raise a sword against other peoples." These words were expressed by L. I. Brezhnev, the leader of our party and head of the Soviet state, a person whose entire activities have made an invaluable contribution to insuring international security and who has done and is doing so much for a turn toward detente and the development of international cooperation.

In the course of the celebration of the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution, the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet, and Soviet government turned to the peoples, parliaments, and governments of all countries in the world with the appeal of "doing everything possible to stop the arms race, ban the development of new mass destruction weapons, and undertake a reduction of armaments and armed forces, and disarmament!" The deep interest of the Soviet state in the preservation and consolidation of the peace, in a course toward the cessation of the arms race and of universal and total disarmament have been codified in the USSR Constitution, which legislatively guarantees their steadiness and stability.

All these are not words but a reflection of the basic needs of the development of the country and of the expectations of the Soviet people. This is our true policy.

The most clear and factual proof of the groundlessness of assertions of a Soviet military threat may be found in our official appeals aimed at restraining the arms race and for disarmament. They contain specific entirely achievable proposals.

It would be simply impossible in this address to list all our initiatives. Let me mention the main one only.

We have always considered nuclear war, the use of nuclear weapons, the main danger to mankind. For this reason, we have always considered nuclear disarmament as a cornerstone. The USSR called for banning the nuclear weapon the moment it appeared. This proposal was repeatedly submitted even after we ourselves were forced to develop the atom bomb. Currently all governments

We favor strict international control, considering it as important as does the West. Furthermore, we believe that such control should contribute to strengthening reciprocal trust among countries rather than trigger additional fears and suspicions.

We consider it important to involve in the disarmament process a broad range of countries, above all all nuclear powers and other countries possessing the most powerful armed forces.

As of the present several international agreements are already in effect limiting to a certain extent the arms race even though, naturally, they have been unable to stop it. This includes the treaty on banning nuclear tests in the atmosphere, under water, and in outer space, treaties on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and limiting anti-missile systems, and a convention on banning bacteriological and toxic weapons. Even though initially, when suggestions regarding such measures were formulated, many people considered them unrealistic, nevertheless, had they not existed, the cause of peace in the world today would have been in a far worse situation.

A number of different talks are being held currently on disarmament problems. However, the fact that the long talks and long drafted agreements on such problems have remained unfinished is very alarming.

For understandable reasons, universal attention is focused on Soviet-American talks on limiting strategic offensive armaments. The conclusion of such an agreement could become a real turning point on the way to military detente and shift to the practical level the solution of many other disarmament problems.

C. Vance, U.S. Secretary of State, visited Moscow recently. In the course of the talks a certain rapprochement of the positions of the parties was achieved on some remaining unresolved problems. C. Vance was received by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev. In the course of their talk attention was focused on the situation of the drafting of a new agreement between the USSR and the United States on limiting strategic offensive armaments. L. I. Brezhnev emphasized the importance of applying energetic efforts by both sides in order to find mutually acceptable solutions for such problems which are either still unresolved or not completely resolved.

Both sides expressed their resolve to work for the fastest possible completion of the drafting of an agreement on limiting strategic armaments so that the agreement could be concluded as soon as possible. This would be equally consistent with the security interests of the USSR and the United States, as well as the interests of strengthening universal peace and international security.

For several years talks have been conducted in Vienna on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. The fact that they have still not led to an agreement is the cause for serious concern, for it is a question of one of the most sensitive parts of the world in which the most powerful military groups are in a state of direct confrontation.

The position we hold at the Vienna talks is well known. We proceed from the factual present situation in Europe which is that both NATO and the Warsaw Pact enjoy here an approximate parity of forces. This was confirmed by the figures submitted by each of the parties. That is why we deem agreements which would fail to give anyone unilateral advantages just and the only acceptable ones.

As early as 1974 the USSR called for an agreement on the part of the participating countries not to raise the level of armed forces in the area of their curtailment in the course of the talks. Had this proposal been accepted military power would not have increased in this part of the world where two world wars broke out. However, it is precisely the circles who make the most noise concerning the growth of Soviet military power in Europe that defeated our proposal on freezing and are promoting, as we already pointed out, the ever greater quantitative and qualitative expansion of NATO armed forces. This clearly shows who in fact opposes the growth of armaments and who is adamantly promoting their expansion.

On 19 April the Western parties to the Vienna talks submitted renovated proposals which are currently being thoroughly studied. On our part we shall do everything possible (naturally, within the limits of observing the principle of equal security) to try to encourage the solution of the problem formulated in Vienna, so important to all European peoples and to international detente as a whole.

You should have no doubts as to our constructive approach to any realistic initiative. Unfortunately, the same could not be said of the West's attitude toward our initiative.

The Belgrade meeting was held recently. As a whole, it confirmed the outstanding significance of the Helsinki European Conference and was useful. At the meeting we presented a platform for action in the field of military detente. It includes the following stipulations: The conclusion among the participants in the European Conference of a treaty according to which no signatory to the European Conference would be the first to use a nuclear weapon against another; an agreement not to conduct military exercises involving the participation of over 50,000-60,000 men, and not to accept new members of the military-political alliances confronting each other in Europe.

Unfortunately, however, not one of these proposals was discussed in essence, even though there was more than enough talk on the need to strengthen reciprocal trust.

The same applies to our proposal of mutually abandoning the production of the neutron weapon. The threat of undertaking its production and location on the territory of other countries triggered the legitimate and grave concern of the peoples. We could say that never before have such broad social circles been involved in resolving the problem of the production and location of a new type of nuclear weapon. Obviously, this influenced the decision made by the U.S. president. However, this decision does not eliminate

the danger, the more so since, at the same time, the order was issued for the mass manufacturing of the carriers of such a warhead--the corresponding modernization of the Lance Missile and the Eight-inch Howitzer. No one could or should avoid responsibility on the matter of the neutron weapon with the justification that decisions are made overseas. It is a question of the fate of nations, of the fate of universal peace. Everyone must realize that equipping the NATO armies with the neutron weapon will trigger corresponding measures which will inevitably lead to a new round in the arms race.

Such are, briefly, the main features of our position on the most topical disarmament problems.

III.

The times we live in demand an awareness of the entire extent of the danger of an unrestrained arms race.

In fact, never before have such quantities of weapons been stockpiled on earth--neither on the eve of the first nor the second world wars. Furthermore, these are weapons whose destructive power is hundreds and thousands of times superior to anything known so far. We must equally clearly realize that we are on the threshold of a new stage in the arms race. We can not underestimate the possibilities of the forces which urge on and encourage this lethal process.

Could this destructive rush to the chasm of war be stopped?

We believe that it could, for powerful forces of peace exist. They are the Soviet Union, the socialist comity, the international workers, the democratic and national-liberation movements, the unalligned countries, the broad circles of the international public, the mass democratic organizations, and the realistically thinking political circles in the capitalist countries.

The struggle against militarism is one of the outstanding traditions of the international labor movement. Today communists and social democrats enjoy the type of influence which enables them to do a great deal for the preservation and consolidation of the peace. No one should doubt the loyalty to the cause of peace of the peoples of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. In the non-socialist part of the world over 120 million voters are casting their votes for communist and social democrats, i.e., for parties which have declared their support of the cause of peace. This means that the joint efforts of communists and social democrats contain a tremendous potential for peace.

It is our profound conviction that the material force embodied in the policy of armaments and preparations for war could and should be opposed by another material force. The strategy of strengthening universal peace and the security of the peoples must counter the strategy of the forces of aggression and war. Historical practice offers many examples of the way the imperialist

and reactionary forces have been able to join forces and to formulate a long-term strategy and specific plans for preparations for and waging of wars. The time in which we live and the very scales of the catastrophes threatening mankind adamantly demand the unification of all forces opposing a nuclear catastrophe and the formulation of a long-term strategy for the prevention of war and preservation of universal peace. The workers' movement and the will and actions of the people's masses must play a major role in this great project.

Let us note that of late very similar positions have been formulated by communists and social democrats on problems of the struggle for disarmament.

Thus, the Berlin Conference of Communist and Workers Parties in Europe specifically called for detente in the military area, suggested the adoption of specific disarmament measures, and spoke out in favor of universal and total disarmament under strict international control, for a cessation of the nuclear arms race, for banning all nuclear weapon tests in all media, for the creation of nuclear-free zones, and so on.

In its latest documents, as we know, the Socialist International has also declared itself in favor of military detente, disarmament, and control over armaments. These documents have stated that the final objective is universal disarmament. They call for putting an end to the proliferation of nuclear weapons, banning nuclear tests, and creating nuclear free zones.

The CPSU values the contacts established in recent years with a number of socialist and social democratic parties and wishes their intensification. We ascribe great importance also to the fact that the interaction among representatives of our parties within international social movements and big mass organizations and meetings is developing successfully. This could be judged by the experience of the World Peace Congress, the Brussels European Security Assemblies, and the work of the International Commission for the Investigation of Crimes Committed by the Military Junta in Chile, in which, along with the communists, representatives of many socialist and social democratic parties participated.

Naturally, practical actions are the real test of any, even the best, statement. This is precisely our basis when we raise the question of joint efforts in the struggle for disarmament. Naturally, we have not been deputized to speak on behalf of all communist parties. As far as the CPSU is concerned, however, it is ready to draft and sign a declaration or any other type of joint document with social democrats on actions directed against the arms race.

We look at things realistically. Ideological differences exist between communists and social democrats. However, life calls for reaching agreement in the solution of the most urgent problem of our time in which all mankind is interested--deliverance from a new world war and putting a stop to the growth of armaments.

We can not fail to be alarmed by the circumstance that in the past 30 years many people seem to have become accustomed to live under the conditions of an arms race, failing to notice the danger it brings to the world. Yet, this suits those who urge on the arms race and who rely on it. We ascribe tremendous significance to making all nations aware of the true scale of the danger of war. A great deal could be done in this respect by the leaders of workers' parties, trade unions, other mass organizations, and their representatives in governments, parliaments, and other legislative and executive organs.

Our party is aware of its tremendous responsibility in the struggle for saving mankind from the threat of a nuclear war, the threat of any war, and in the struggle for disarmament. It is to be hoped that this feeling of responsibility will be deeply rooted in the ranks of the social democratic parties, their leaders, and their officials. In this connection as well we consider the very fact of holding this conference very positive.

Life itself adamantly dictates the need for cooperation between communist and social democratic parties on problems of political and military detente. Cooperation, precisely! Today sporadic contacts are obviously inadequate. Stable and systematic interaction is needed.

In this respect allow me to submit a few practical proposals.

On the instruction of the CPSU Central Committee and of L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Chairman, we are inviting to Moscow a representative delegation of the Socialist International with its President Villi Brandt, to discuss on a high level the problems of stopping the arms race and subsequent disarmament in their entire magnitude.

Such a discussion could contribute to progress in the intergovernmental talks already under way and would bring all of us closer to practical solutions.

Taking into consideration the entire tremendous responsibility of the workers' movement and the opportunities it has, it would be expedient to consider the question of developing contacts on a permanent basis between communist and social democratic parties for the exchange of information and for coordinating joint actions on disarmament problems. In our view, this would help to surmount still existing prejudices, mistrust, and alienation, and achieve better understanding of reciprocal intentions.

It would be quite important to motivate the broadest possible public circles and, particularly, international non-governmental organizations, actively to contribute to the success of the special United Nations General Assembly Session. For its part, our party is ready to contribute to this. We believe that the present conference as well could play a role in this respect.

We ascribe great importance to the soonest possible holding of a world disarmament conference which could and should make a major contribution to resolving problems related to putting a stop to the arms race, the reduction of armaments, and disarmament. Here again the joint efforts of communists and social democrats could play a substantial role.

We know the great importance of mass information media and their influence, specifically, on the discussion of disarmament problems. PRAVDA, our party's central organ, is ready to initiate meetings among representatives of the communist and social democratic press with a view to exchanging views on such matters.

We suggest that a prestigious conference be convened in Moscow or elsewhere on disarmament problems with the participation of representatives of communist and social democratic parties and other political forces. We would also consider it useful to create joint study groups which would review the most topical problems related to restricting armaments and disarmament. The topics of their work could be formulated jointly.

Days and weeks of solidarity actions related to one or another demand have become a tradition to the labor movement. This is how May Day--the day of international solidarity of the working people--was born. It would be expedient to use this method also in the struggle against the arms race. This would gain extensive support throughout the world and would be a serious means for countering the opponents of military detente.

Let the voice of the popular masses demanding a cessation of the arms race, a cessation of the race to war, be heard!

In a word, we are ready for a dialogue and cooperation on the broadest possible basis. Naturally, we are ready to discuss any counter-initiative and suggestion in a well-wishing and constructive spirit.

In conclusion, let me emphasize that the Soviet Union, the CPSU, and its Central Committee, headed by L. I. Brezhnev, the outstanding fighter for the peace and security of the peoples, pursuing a systematic and stable peace-loving Leninist course, are ready to undertake all the necessary efforts so that the problems of military detente may, finally, reach the level of practical decisions in the interest of achieving factual disarmament. Such is our basic position. It is dictated by responsibility and concern for the destinies of the Soviet people and of all peoples on earth!

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APPEARANCE OF MARXISM AND THE LEGACY OF SPIRITUAL CULTURE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 7, May 1978 pp 51-63

[Article by G. Volkov, doctor of philosophical sciences]

[Text] "He critically reworked everything created by human society, leaving no single item unattended. He reworked everything created by the human mind, subjecting it to criticism, checking it against the workers' movement, and drawing conclusions which people limited by bourgeois frameworks or related to bourgeois prejudices were unable to reach." V. I. Lenin.

One hundred and sixty years ago there appeared in the world a man whose name is linked with the appearance of the scientific theory of the reorganization of the world, the man who was the first to open to the working people the real path of struggle for their liberation and for the practical assertion of humanistic ideals.

The historical destiny of Karl Marx's doctrine is unprecedented. "Disputed" and "refuted" by scientists serving the bourgeoisie on innumerable occasions, it was confirmed through all class battles of the 19th and 20th Centuries on a daily "rough, and visible" basis. The veracity and accuracy of this doctrine were brilliantly confirmed by the experience of the October Revolution and the successful building of the new comity of the socialist countries. Today this doctrine is the banner and powerful combat weapon of the worldwide communist movement.

What is the reason for the omnipotence of the Marxist doctrine? How did it become possible for Marxism to conquer so rapidly the minds and hearts of millions and millions of people throughout the world? V. I. Lenin himself, as we know, provided an exhaustive answer to the question: Marx's doctrine is omnipotent because it is true, because it accurately expresses the basic interests of the working people, because Marx gave answers to questions which the progressive thinking of mankind had already raised, and because it is based on the solid foundations of human knowledge and the achievements of culture created throughout the entire development of mankind.

The bourgeois ideologues have worked hard and continue to work to depict Marxism as one of the many "isms," similar to those they promote themselves. They are trying to present Marxism as a kind of enclosed doctrine which, promoting narrow-class or even group interests, exaggerates a specific--economic or political--aspect of reality, allegedly ignoring its multi-dimensional nature. Consequently Marxism is depicted as one side of development of social life and culture, as being one-dimensional, for which reason, allegedly, it is the opposite of culture.

Attacks against Marxism are mounted to this day from the same positions even on the part of those who revere Marx's name: If only Marxism could be supplemented with existentialism, neo-positivism, structuralism, or Freudianism, together with Zen Buddhism, with the "religion of the senses," or simply with religion! Consequently, a number of ever new "Marxist-like," i.e., pseudo-Marxist, theories are being "added" and fabricated.

In itself, however, this fact is significant. It clearly proves, yet once again, that Marxism-Leninism is the political, ideological, philosophical, and cultural dominant of the present epoch. Therefore, the various types of bourgeois or revisionist theories are forced to prove their right to exist by stemming from Marxism, so to say, either donning its garb, or engaging in an open struggle against it.

Marxism-Leninism is the true focal point of the spiritual life of mankind because it arose as a doctrine of the most revolutionary class--the proletariat; by virtue of the fact that it is an outlook reflecting most fully and comprehensively the economic and political trends of social development, because the roots of this doctrine are deeply entrenched in the dynamics of the class struggle between labor and capital, as well as by virtue of the fact that it is the heir of the greatest gains of the human mind and that it appeared on the basis of the mastery and critical revision of everything achieved by human culture.

According to Lenin, Marxism "has nothing resembling 'sectarianism' in the sense of a closed and ossified doctrine appearing aside of the ascending road of development of world civilization" ("Poln Sobr Soch" [Complete Collected Works], Vol 23, p 40). Marxism arose on this high road or, in other words, in the main current of world culture and history, and became a rapid, accelerating the progress of mankind from its prehistory to its real history.

Lenin's words we cited come from his article "Three Sources and Three Components of Marxism." Here Lenin describes German classical philosophy, English political economy, and French socialism the immediate and direct sources of Marxism. In fact, creating their theory, Marx and Engels directly and immediately abandoned the philosophy of Hegel and Feuerbach, the labor theory of value supported by Smith and Ricardo, and the classics of Utopian socialism--Saint-Simon, Fourier, and Owen.

However, limiting the establishment of Marxism to the overall influence of these personalities and directions would mean limiting the Marxist doctrine itself. Obviously, the comprehensive study of this process, as follows from the precise meaning and spirit of Lenin's statements, calls for starting with the legacy of spiritual culture as a whole.

We have become accustomed to consider spiritual culture as something which breaks down into "sovereign areas": Natural scientific, philosophical-humanitarian, and artistic-aesthetic (which, in turn, break down into numerous disciplines and genres). Yet, their sovereignty is rather relative. The interrelationships, intereffects, and interchangeability are considerably more substantial than is sometimes believed. It is quite important, naturally, to bear in mind this circumstance in considering the prerequisites for the appearance of Marxism and its origins.

For example, if we speak of Hegelian philosophy as one of the direct and immediate sources of Marxism, we can not fail to realize that, in turn, it had numerous and varied sources going way back into past centuries, relying not only on the philosophy developed by its immediate predecessors such as Kant, Fichte, and Schelling, but was also inspired by the philosophical-aesthetic visions of many other philosophers, starting with Pythagorus and Heraclitus. Hegelian philosophy would have been inconceivable had the history of culture not had people like Plato and Spinoza; it would have been equally inconceivable without Newton and Leibnitz, without Rousseau and Diderot, without Shakespeare and Goethe, and without Cuvier and Humboldt.

Hegelian philosophy in general and the dialectical method he developed, in particular, were the quintessence of the "spirit of the epoch," a kind of summary of the history of human knowledge and of dialectical discoveries in the fields of the natural scientific and artistic-aesthetic mastery of the world. Hegel did tremendous work on the dialectical revising of the entire spiritual heritage of mankind resulting in his "logic," "nature philosophy," "Philosophy of History," "Philosophy of Law," and "aesthetics."

Curiously, Hegel acknowledged as his spiritual ancestor no one among the previous philosophers but Goethe, the poet and natural scientist. Unquestionably, the sensory-pantheistic perception of nature in many of Goethe's poetry works influenced Hegel's philosophical system. Goethe's evolutionary ideas, the ideas of the metamorphosis of the vegetal kingdom, and of a development based on the "pre-phenomenon," were the prototype of the Hegelian method of rising from the abstract to the concrete, a method which, subsequently, gleaning from its idealistic rust, Marx turns into a tool for research in "Das Kapital."

"Looking back at the way covered in my spiritual development," wrote Hegel to Goethe in 1825, "I see that you are part of each step along this way and I could take the liberty of describing myself as one of your sons. My thinking has obtained from you the strength to oppose abstraction, while your works were the beacons guiding my progress" (Hegel, "Raboty Raznykh Let" [Works of Different Periods], Mysl', Moscow, 1971, Vol 2, p 473).

Hegel's admission ("opposing abstraction") is characteristic. He is frequently considered a kind of boring bookworm and dessicated rationalist. Yet, even though heavy and "obscure," Hegel's style of thought is inordinately graphic, extensive, and warm with poetic feelings, which makes it somehow similar to artistic thinking. The thinker himself assumed that, like the poet, the philosopher must possess an esthetic gift, otherwise he would be no more than a pedant. A. I. Gertsen was profoundly right by noting that "there is nothing more ridiculous than the fact that so far the Germans . . . believe Hegel to be a dry logician, an ossified dialectician like Wolf, whereas each of his works is imbued with powerful poetry, whereas he, carried away (frequently against his will) by his own genius, presents most speculative thoughts with amazing aptness in striking images" (A. I. Gertsen, "Sobr Soch" [Collected Works], in 30 volumes, Vol 2, Moscow, 1954, p 381).

The profound and invariable gratitude which Marx and Engels felt for Hegel is due not only to the fact that they owed him a great deal as a dialectician but the fact that he presented the colorful figure of an original and versatile philosopher and that "along with Saint-Simon was the most universal mind of his time" (see K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch" [Works], Vol 20, p 23).

This applies, to a greater or lesser extent, to other immediate predecessors of Marxism: Saint-Simon, Fourier, Feuerbach, Smith, and Ricardo. There is no point in mentioning the variety of the talents and knowledge of the first three. They are universally known. As to Adam Smith, in addition to his works on economics, he developed the "Theory of Moral Feelings," and left sketches of a world history of science and art. David Ricardo developed a precise and logical style in his works thanks to his constant attraction for mathematics and the natural sciences.

Therefore, the immediate origins of Marxism--German classical philosophy, French utopian socialism, and English political economy--were themselves a kind of concentrated achievement of the entire spiritual culture of their time. Yet, let us reemphasize that the spiritual premises for Marxism are far from entirely covered by these three sources.

We find in Lenin numerous statements to the effect that the proletarian culture could be built only on the basis of the culture created through the entire development of mankind, and that communism is the result, the conclusion of this entire culture. "Marxism is an example of the way communism appeared from the sum total of human knowledge" ("Poln Sobr Soch," Vol 41, p 303). When Lenin emphasized that one could become a communist only after enriching one's memory with the knowledge of all the wealth produced by mankind, naturally, he meant above all the spiritual path of development of the first communist in the full meaning of the term--Karl Marx.

We know that Marx grew up in a highly intellectual atmosphere. He was familiar since childhood with Voltaire, Rousseau, Racine, Lessing, Spinoza, Locke, Kant, and Goethe. He then met with the Westfalen family in whose circles Homer, Shakespeare and Saint-Simon were read. All this became the spiritual font of the future genius.

In the university he studied law but was interested in aesthetics, poetry, plays, philosophy, and the history of culture. He dreamed of becoming a literary critic and playwright. We know from a preserved letter to his father, dated 1837, about the inordinately tense and varied spiritual work of the young man.

He read Lessing's "Laokoon," Winkelmann's "History of Art," and Ovid's "Sad Elegies," in between Reimarus' book "On the Complex Instincts of Animals," Luden's "German History," Aristotle's "Rhetoric," and the works of Bacon, Schelling, Kant, and Hegel. He read mountains of specialized legal works. Sheer volume of his readings in a single year is striking!

Yet, Marx did not simply read. To him the study of a new field of science or culture immediately became an independently creative work in this area. Reading and the study of literature were not a passive student process in his case, but merely a stimulus, an impulse for his own work in the fields of thinking and imagination. Thus, studying philosophy and law, he tried to establish "a certain philosophical system of the law through the entire legal area" and as an introduction to this topic alone he wrote an "unfortunate opus of almost 300 pages." Studying the history of art and the history of philosophy, that same school year he wrote a dialogue of almost 24 pages in which "to a certain extent he merged art with science" (see K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch," Vol 40, pp 10, 15).

Let us note that the first published works of Marx and Engels are attempts at poetry. The founders of scientific communism began by drawing attention to themselves as poets.

The poetic heritage of the young Marx (recently published in full for the first time in its Russian translation) is quite extensive and varied. It includes notebooks of lyrical verse dedicated to the "dear and eternally beloved Genny," and ballads, epigrams, stage plays, "Oulanem," a tragedy in verse, and chapters on the noble "Scorpio and Felix."

These literary attempts, naturally, were not perfect as the young poet himself noted with merciless self-criticism. Nevertheless, they are of unusual interest in understanding the process through which Marx developed. They were a kind of mirror reflecting the inner world of his personality, and his attitude toward his environment, social sympathies and antipathies, and the developing awareness of the future revolutionary fighter.

His imagination created a mountain of wild raving passions, the hyperbolic character of a tragic hero nailed to the burning wheel of eternity, dreaming of being "one of those who know no peace and who surmount their pains and sorrows with the silent gigantic power of the fighting soul" (the tragedy "Oulanem"). His poetry is imbued with an expectation of the storm and rebellious feelings:

I can not accept impassionately
That which is thunder to the soul
Rest and idleness are not for me,
I am where the storming and tempest are.

My wish is to achieve everything:
I aspire to the gift of the gods.
I boldly plunge into the depth of knowledge,
In the world of harmony and art.

(Translated by N. V. Dimchevskiy)

In the chapters of the novel "Scorpio and Felix," Marx aptly depicts the "truly German" "very Christian" family, mocking the sterile philosophizing of his characters. Here we can already see glimpses of the brilliant wit which distinguished Marx's mature publicistic works. He developed the idea that everything great has its opposite which restricts it: The giant has the dwarf; the genius has the boring philistine; heroic Caesar has the actor Octavian; Emperor Napoleon has the bourgeois King Louis Philippe; the philosopher Kant has Krug the "knight"; the poet Schiller has Raupach, the court counselor; and Leibnitz has his mediocre classroom imitator Wolf. Similarly, a brief tempest leaves long after it a sea of silt and mud.

Let us recall the splendid elegance with which later Marx was to develop this satirical character in his "Louis Bonaparte's 18th Brumaire!"

The epigrams and poems clearly reveal Marx's open rejection of the world of the petit bourgeoisie with its sanctimonious morality and arrogance, mocking the "calmy stupid German public" with its political cowardice and tendency to make revolutions in books. Ironically imitating the pious pastor Pustkuchen, he declares real war to the militant dullness of the clergy and the narrow-minded world of religious-pious orthodoxy which considered even the great works of Goethe and Schiller sinful and unworthy.

Marx's early literary-aesthetic enthusiasms were a natural and legitimate stage in the development of his personality and outlook. The world of high art was the first school for his convictions. While Schiller awakened in him hatred for arbitrariness and violence over the poor, Shakespeare revealed the complex dialectical world of human feelings and relations, sharpening his natural gift of sharp-mindedness. Goethe inspired him to combine feeling with thought and the strange play of the imagination with high thoughts on the meaning of life and death, and a Mephistophelian mockery of the hypocrisy of a different morality with Wagnerian passion for science and faith in its omnipotence. Heine whom Marx had read in his university years, made an indelible impression on his rebellious spirit through his best works and merciless irony mocking everything base and false. The freedom-loving civic poetry of Platen, Freiligrath, and Herwegh influenced Marx's political thinking of that time.

Aeschylean Prometheus--the first fighter of the gods and martyr for the happiness of mankind--inspired Marx toward the end of the 1830's and the beginning of the 1840's to criticize religion. Prometheus' proud challenge--"truly, I hate all gods" . . . was directed by Marx "against all celestial and earthly gods" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch," Vol 40, p 153). The "stern Dante," with his merciless scourging of all vices of his contemporary society, and his slogan that "here the soul must be firm, here fear should not give counsel," was Marx's invisible spiritual guide and fellow-traveler in his theoretical roamings in all the circles of the capitalist hell.

It seems to me, therefore, that we could be fully justified in speaking not only of the philosophical and socioeconomic but the artistic-aesthetic premises leading to the establishment and shaping of Marxism.

The role of art in the development of the thinking of the individual is, in general exceptionally great. It is precisely art that molds, above all, the capacity for an overall perception of the world and the constructive play of the imagination, awakening the imagination, developing thinking through associated images, developing feelings of harmony and beauty, and shaping intuition and humor. All these are talents without which there could be no true creativity in any field of human activity.

Artistic-imagistic thinking frequently even outstrips the strictly scientific thinking in the spiritual mastery of the world, for it has greater freedom in selecting the means for such mastery, for thinking in images is the most daring, "economical," and capacious form of thinking, forming the ability to see the whole before its parts. That is why Dante, Cervantes, Milton, Shakespeare, Goethe, and Heine may have contributed more to Marx and Engels in learning about the epochs they described compared with some philosophers of their time. This was also the reason for which, in his own admission, Engels "learned more in the sense of economic details . . . compared with books by all kinds of specialists--historians, economists, and statisticians of the period, taken together" from Balzac's descriptions of French society at the turn of the 19th Century (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch," Vol 37, p 36).

Literary works have justifiably drawn the attention to the fact that the ideas formulated by Marx on the nature of money were initially suggested to him less by the works of economists than by the works of Shakespeare and Goethe. In his "Economic-Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844" Marx cites impressive excerpts from "Doctor Faustus" by Goethe and Shakespeare's "Timon of Athens." "Shakespeare," he said, "superbly depicts the nature of money" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch," Vol 42, p 148). In particular, Marx refers to the following lines by the great playwright:

This yellow slave
Will knit and break religions; bless the accurs'd;
Make the hoar leprosy ador'd; place thieves,
And give them title, knee, and approbation,
With senators on the bench . . .

Money, Marx noted, is poetically described by Shakespeare and Goethe as the conversion of all natural and human qualities in their opposite, as the alienated power of mankind. Money, as the embodiment of value, is the "universal courtesan," the universal confusion and substitution of things, i.e., the world upside down.

That is how Shakespeare and Goethe helped the young Marx to gain an idea of the nature and role of money in the world of private property turned upside down. This intuitively accurate yet still general, "diluted" concept was the artistic prototype of the strict and streamlined scientific theory embodied in his "On the Critique of Political Economy," and "Das Kapital." Interestingly, here again Marx turns to Shakespeare in his study of the nature of money and cites the same lines from "Timon of Athens" as in his 1844 manuscripts.

The training provided by art and philosophy shapes the level of thinking, raising it to a qualitatively higher stage, making it more perspicacious and meaningful, sharpening the ability to see deeper and farther, not losing sight of the main feature because of details and particulars, penetrating into the essence of things and phenomena, and achieving the live entity which is always present in the imagination as a prerequisite for a concrete analysis. Such was the training which art gave Marx and Engels. Attending this school, they rapidly covered the way to the greatest accomplishments: Dialectical and historical materialism, the theory of surplus value, and scientific communism.

The passion, emotionality, and brilliant literary skill which Marx and Engels displayed greatly contributed to making their works convincing and unfadingly young. In their works deep thinking is frequently born, shines, and becomes imbued with artistic descriptions; feelings are converted into theories in which irony, jokes, and aphorisms become a natural dominant. Many of their articles, particularly in their correspondence, shine with inimitable humor. On one occasion, answering philistine attacks on Marx's "gloomy" nature, Engels wrote to E. Bernstein that "had these blabber mouths had the occasion to read my correspondence with the Moor, they would have been dumbfounded. Heine's poetry is child's play compared with our daring and gay prose. The Moor may break into a rage but never feel depressed! I almost died laughing rereading the old manuscripts" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch," Vol 36, p 31).

Professional literary workers of the highest grade could envy the ability which Marx and Engels had to provide a profound psychological and social portrait of an individual with a few lines. Marx treated according to their deserts many scientific and political philistines in his articles and books, and in "Das Kapital." Petty people became targets of his murderous mockery and inexhaustible wit. Heine's statement about Lessing could fully apply to Marx: "Killing" his enemies he thus gave them immortality. In a way he covered the petty little writers with most witty mockery and admirable humor, thus preserving their immortality in his works, like insects trapped in a bit of amber.

Speaking of the artistic-aesthetic premises of Marxism, finally, let us also emphasize the circumstance that Marx and Engels invariably retained throughout their lives a deep interest in all artistic accomplishments. The original aesthetic and socio-cultural views they developed not simply coexist with the ideas of scientific communism but constitute, so to say, the living beginning of a new outlook and of the communist ideals of true humanism.¹

In the year 1844, when Marx's conversion from idealism to materialism and from revolutionary democracy to communism "was definitively accomplished," could be described as the year of birth of a scientific outlook. By then Marx's character had already been essentially formed--the character of the greatest revolutionary in science and the creator of the science of revolution. By then a considerable part of the work on the critical reinterpretation of the entire spiritual heritage of the past had already been accomplished.

Let us begin with philosophy. Abandoning in 1837 the "dancing of the muses and the music of satires," i.e., his literary enthusiasms, Marx had reached the conclusion that "I would not be able to forge ahead without philosophy." He realized that he would be unable to take a single successful step in a specific scientific area such as, for example, jurisprudence, without mastering the general forms in which theoretical thinking can progress by itself and, at the same time, lead to a factually reproduced developing target. In his mature years Engels expressed the profound thought that in terms of developing and improving the ability to engage in theoretical thinking "so far there is no means other than the study of all previous philosophy" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch," Vol 20, p 366). Naturally, he based this on his own and on Karl Marx's practical experience.

The "spirit of doubt and negation," created by young Marx's exposure to Hegelian philosophy, turned to its origins--the philosophers of antiquity. He undertook to study Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle. He studied the writings of the ancients--Empedocles, Parmenides, Diogenes, Laertius, Plutarch, Simplicius, Phemistius, Cicero, Stobaeus, Philoponus, Lucretius Carus, Sextus Empiricus, Seneca, and Clement of Alexandria.

Among the entire variety of doctrines and currents of antiquity Marx focused his attention on Democritus and Epicurus. The very fact that he turned to the theories of the biggest ancient Greek atomists and materialists confirms the direction followed by his search for a new outlook. The Hegelian system could not be surmounted within the frameworks of idealism. No single idealistic doctrine could be of any help in this respect. Materialism alone could help--the entire materialistic tradition, starting with Epicurus, including French and English 17th and 18th Century materialism, and ending with Feuerbach.

In their "Holy Family" (second half of 1844), Marx and Engels seemed to sum up previously studied essentially materialistic philosophy.

Above all, Marx proved the historical continuity between the new materialism and Democritus and Epicurus. In England this continuity involved F. Bacon-- "the father of British materialism and of all . . . experimenting science"; in France it was linked with Gassendi who "restored Epicurean materialism."

Marx's accurate, apt, and witty characterizations accompany an entire gallery of names of English and French philosophers, establishing the role of each one of them in the historical development of the philosophical thinking which led to the appearance of dialectical and historical materialism.

In England Hobbs systematized Bacon's materialism. Locke substantiated the principles of sensualism, while Collins, Dodwell, Coward, Hardly, and Priestly destroyed the final theological boundaries of Locke's sensualism. The French (La Mettrie, Condillac, Helvetius, Volney, Dupuis, and Diderot) "civilized" English materialism, giving it wit, eloquence, and flesh and blood. French materialism arose in an open and sharp struggle against the philosophy of Descartes, Malebranche, Spinoza, Leibnitz, and Lock, to which, nevertheless, it largely owes its appearance. Emphasizing the progress of materialistic thinking, Marx far from ignored the achievements of speculative philosophy, Hegelian philosophy above all. Materialism reached its completion "thanks to speculation itself" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch," Vol 2, p 139).

The study of philosophy logically determined Marx's interest in utopian socialism. Noteworthy in this respect is his thought that French materialism "flows directly" into socialism. If a person, he thinks, draws all his knowledge and sensations from the sensory world and the experience acquired from this world, perhaps one should so organize the world around him that within it man would recognize and master what is truly human, and would become aware of himself as a man. If human nature creates circumstances, perhaps the circumstances must be made human.

Marx undertook the careful study of the ideas of utopian socialism as early as 1842, while working for the RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG. He studied not only the works of Saint-Simon, Fourier, and Owen, but Considerant, Babeuf, Leroux, Cabet, Desamis, Gay, Weitling, and Constant. Not satisfied with an abstractly structured society of the future as presented in the works of utopian socialists, Marx tried to understand the important socioeconomic and political problems of his time. His attention was drawn to the works of Proudhon and Guesse.

A turn to history was necessary to understand the present and the future. In Kreuznach, with his typical thoroughness, Marx turned to history. He studied the five-volume "History of the Germans" by J. Pfister, P. Daru's "History of the Republic of Venice," J. Lappenberg's "History of England," T. Hamilton's "People and Mores in the United States of North America," H. Heinrich's three volume "History of France," and many other works which offered an idea on the historical development of the people's of a great number of countries over the past 2,500 years.

In Marx's eyes the course of universal history began to acquire its own logic of development, whose "last word" was that of the bourgeois revolutions in England and France. Marx studied with particular thoroughness everything related to the French Revolution and, finally, came across the works of the creators of the concept of the class struggle in bourgeois historiography--Thierry and Guizot.

The basic outlines of the new outlook developed as a result of such intensive intellectual effort and attentive study of the situation of the toiling masses in Germany, France, and England. Between 1843 and 1844, as we know, Marx discovered the universal-historical mission of the proletariat as the grave digger of the old society. However, one area of knowledge still remained outside Marx's attention. It was only after addressing himself to the works of the classics of political economy--Smith and Ricardo--did it become possible, for the first time, to formulate the new outlook as a whole. This exposition was initiated in the "Economic-Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844," and continued in the "Holy Family" and "German Ideology."

We see that Marx's interest systematically shifted from philosophical to socio-political and historical research and, finally, to political economy. Naturally, this did not mean that the "three components" of Marxism appeared one after the other. As an integral streamlined doctrine, Marxism developed as a single system of views and concepts in which a part does not appear before the entity but develops and advances with it. Even though Marx undertook the formulation of a new outlook with philosophy, the decisive turn in this field, i.e., the creation of dialectical and historical materialism, became possible only in the course of the development of the socio-political and economic aspects of Marxism. As long as the ideas of the proletariat as the motive revolutionary force of the time and of economic relations as a base of society had not been formulated, there neither was nor could there be an historical-materialistic theory of society and nor could dialectical materialism appear.

However, even when the new outlook was presented and substantiated, to use Lenin's words, it remained merely a scientific hypothesis. It was only since the writing of "Das Kapital" that the materialistic view of history became a proven scientific theory, and, for the first time, sociology became a science.

At one point Marx had described "Das Kapital" as an "artistic entity," with full justification. Indeed, the book is a model of a logical and aesthetically streamlined architectonics of a grandiose "assembly of ideas." With enviable clarity and imagery Marx exposed the most complex and abstract categories, turning them into living characters of a narrative with a tense plot.² "Das Kapital" synthesizes the history of economic, and far more than economic, thinking in all its currents and manifestations. The entire capitalist system is presented to the reader as something alive, starting with its historical birth and development, complex dialectical clashes, contradictions between production forces and production relations, the antagonism between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, and the political, juridical, and ideological institutions which protect the right of the entrepreneur to exploit the workers.

"Das Kapital" reflects the entire spiritual wealth mastered by Marx throughout his life. It presents, in an unbreakable superior synthesis, three aspects of the Marxist doctrine. "Das Kapital" presents the merciless logic of the progress of the capitalist production method to its inevitable doom. We see in it the dialectical-materialistic method in action. It contains a firm theoretical foundation for the political struggle of the working people for their liberation and for the long-term strategy of the world's communist movement.

The work on "Das Kapital" is noteworthy in yet another respect. Here Marx's interest exceeded the boundaries of the social sciences. He had to plunge into the realm of natural and technical sciences.

In particular, he studied and used numerous sources dealing with the history of natural science and technology. Marx painstakingly analyzed the lengthy historical process of the embodiment of the achievements of mechanics, chemistry, and physics into equipment and technology between the 16th and 19th Centuries. He discovered the basic laws and trends of technological development and predicted the appearance of automated systems. The need for a quantitative expression of economic laws inspired him to study mathematics in particular and to provide a dialectical interpretation of differential and integral calculus.

Even though Marxism is named after one person, we know that it is the life exploit of two people. Something like a division of labor existed between Marx and Engels. If one of them studied the situation in Europe in the 1840's and 1850's from the economic and political viewpoints, the other plunged into the study of the battle strength of war European countries and army tactics and strategy. If one of them studied over a number of years the nature of capitalist production the other constantly kept track of the latest achievements in the natural sciences. Whereas Marx studied the foundations of technology and agrochemistry, Engels studied theoretical problems of biology, physics, chemistry, and cosmology.

"Marx and I," Engels wrote, "were just about the only people who rescued conscious dialectics from German idealistic philosophy and converted it into a materialistic understanding of nature and history. However, the dialectical and materialistic understanding of nature called for knowledge of mathematics and the natural sciences. Marx was a thorough expert in mathematics. However, we could deal with the natural sciences only irregularly, fitfully, sporadically" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch," Vol 20, pp 10-11).

As we know, in the 1870's Engels assumed the gigantic project of the dialectical summation of natural scientific data. "Anti-Duhring" and, particularly, the "Dialectics of Nature" provide a philosophical interpretation of achievements in the natural sciences. It was above all thanks to Engels that the Marxist outlook was substantiated from the natural scientific aspect as well. Marx ascribed great importance to the need for such a substantiation. We know, for example, his response to Darwin's main work: " . . . This book will provide a natural science base for our views" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch," Vol 30, p 102).

However, Marx and Engels did not limit the task of philosophy in terms of natural sciences merely to summing up acquired scientific data. Philosophy does not simply follow the natural sciences, commenting on their successes, but, to a certain extent, it itself is a prerequisite for the successful development of the natural sciences. Dialectical-materialistic philosophy is a method of thinking which is "imposed" on the natural scientists by the very course of the development of specific fields of knowledge, the moment they have reached the level of theory. To the natural sciences dialectics is the most suitable form of thinking, for it alone is an analogue and, thus, a method for explaining natural processes. Engels cited numerous examples of the way philosophy anticipated many centuries ahead discoveries subsequently reached by the natural sciences. "The stipulations established in philosophy hundreds of years ago, stipulations which have long been covered by philosophy, are frequently found in theoretical natural scientists as the latest truths and become, for a while, even fads" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch," Vol 20, p 367).

These words remain topical today. In turn, the natural sciences have a powerful revolutionizing influence on philosophy, so that "with each epoch-making discovery . . . in the natural scientific area, inevitably materialism is forced to change its shape" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch," Vol 21, p 286). Marx's and Engels' conclusion on the need for an ever closer alliance between philosophy and the individual sciences, an alliance between the natural and social sciences, for purposes of their reciprocal enrichment and further successful progress, is being fully confirmed in the epoch of the scientific and technical revolution.

Marxism, the greatest accomplishment of social thinking, was created by truly universal individuals who paid attention and reworked every single essential achievement in the field of spiritual culture. The 19th Century created real giants in science and art. However, even against such a comprehensive background and vivid talent, the encyclopedic nature of the founders of Marxism is unique. They were able to penetrate deeper than their contemporaries in the cultural heritage of the past and the achievements of the culture of their time and, therefore, considerably to outstrip their own time.

In fact, it would be hard to name an area of spiritual and practical activities in which the universal genius of the founders of Marxism was not displayed. We speak of them with full justification as revolutionaries and organizers, publicists and journalists, philosophers and economists, sociologists and historians, and linguists and literary workers. We know that, after finishing his work on "Das Kapital," Marx intended to write the work "Logic," books on the history of philosophy and the works of Balzac, and a play on the Graham Brothers . . .

With his typical purposefulness, Marx focused his encyclopedic knowledge and universally developed capabilities on the solution of economic problems. This became the main content of his scientific work. However, no narrow specialist could have ever created something resembling "Das Kapital."

There had never been cases in the history of human culture even resembling Marxism. The older philosophers developed theories were accessible only to a small circle of the "initiated." These theories claimed either to explain some aspects of reality or the formulation of an inaccessible ideal.

They developed systems which, in their fanatical conviction, would explain everything extant once and for all. They proclaimed absolute dogmas on the interpretation of the world and demanded their unconditional observance. Whatever shades the speculative elaborations of different philosophers may have assumed, they were all joined in one thing: Non-historical thinking.

The tragedy of these philosophers was that their theories could not keep up with reality in the least. Progressing by virtue of dialectical laws concealed to them, life mercilessly went forth while doctrines which were to conquer the world became hopelessly obsolete the moment they appeared. There was nothing to do: Theory was gray while the tree of life was eternally green!

This Goethean aphorism proved to be vulnerable when Marx combined theory with life, practice, and the revolutionary movement of the proletariat, when a theory reflecting not individual facts of reality, or one or another transient phenomenon, but its most active development, and its eternal and uninterrupted progress and change appeared.

Trying to define briefly the most distinguishing features of the Marxist outlook, we should name its systematic anti-dogmatism and consistent specific historicism. People who fail to understand this aspect of Marxism are usually amazed by the fact that Marx and Engels did not leave works which would express "in their entire completeness" their views on nature, society, and thinking; they did not leave a "Marxist catechism." In an effort to fill this "gap," some of them undertook to write such "catechisms." Naturally, however, nothing other than the vulgarizing of Marxism resulted, for Marxism is not a collection of ready answers for all cases in life. It is not a frozen theoretical model of the world. It is not an "all mandatory" historical system. Marxism is a method for the study of the extant in its steady dynamics and change, a constantly developing theory of the revolutionary reorganization of social relations, and a weapon in the struggle for such a reorganization.

In the past as well human history has abounded in revolutionary upheavals. Before Marx, however, it had no truly revolutionary outlook. The development of society followed a different path when the revolutionary movement of the masses and revolutionary thinking were combined. Marxism became a world changing theory.

V. I. Lenin who, like Marx and Engels, was also the universal mind of his time, moved ahead the Marxist theory in all directions: Philosophy, political economy, and scientific socialism. He brought the study of the capitalist society to the imperialist stage of its development, provided a dialectical-materialistic interpretation of the revolution in physics, and formulated a program for the socialist, including cultural, construction in the USSR.

Developing as the worthy heir of the best gains of human civilization, Marxism, enriched and developed through Lenin's genius in the new conditions of the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions, clearly proved to the world the accuracy of Goethe's words:

Worthy of a legacy is only he
Who could use this legacy in life.
To be pitied is he who accumulates dead rubbish.

The Marxist-Leninist ideas live and struggle on our planet. They are being "practically applied to life," and implemented in the countries belonging to the world socialist system. These ideas participate in the activities of the revolutionary masses, in the daily toil of the worker and peasant, scientist and engineer, and writer and poet. They help everyone to realize his place in life and the revolutionary struggle. They help to save the world from all social filth and scum, wars, exploitation, poverty, and hunger.

Marxist-Leninist theory, enriching itself with new facts and opening new horizons to the world, is steadily developing along with the progress of society, science, technology, and all culture. "The strength of Marxism-Leninism," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized in the CPSU Central Committee Accountability Report to the 25th Party Congress, "lies in its constant creative development. This was taught by Marx and Lenin."

The purity of Marxist-Leninist theory and its intolerance of all sorts of "isms" which distort and emasculate its revolutionary-critical spirit does not mean in the least that this theory is "locked within itself" and canned. Appearing historically, on the basis of the mastering and critical reworking of the cultural heritage of mankind, Marxism-Leninism is continuing to develop, steadily embracing within itself the best achievements of the human genius.

FOOTNOTES

1. This aspect of the matter, without whose understanding one could understand the establishment of Marxism, was well described in the book by Mikh. Lifshits "Karl Marks. Iskustvo i Obshchestvennyy Ideal" [Karl Marx. Art and Social Ideal], Moscow, 1972.
2. From this viewpoint an interesting study was made by M. V. Nechkina in her earlier work "'Kapital' Karla Marksa kak Khudozhestvennoye Seloye" [Karl Marx's Das Kapital as an Artistic Entity] ("Pechat' i Revolyutsiya" [Press and Revolution], Vol 5, Moscow, 1927).

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UNDER THE FLAG OF 'RECONCILIATION'; CONTEMPORARY TRENDS IN BOURGEOIS
INTERPRETATION OF MARX'S ECONOMIC THEORY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 7, May 1978 pp 64-75

[Article by V. Shemyatenkov, candidate of economic sciences]

[Text] Ever since Marxism appeared, bourgeois ideology has constantly fought this only true doctrine on the ways of social progress of mankind, justifiably feeling that it represented its historical sentence. Combining the most refined attempts to distort Marxist theory, defame it, or, simply, ignore it, the struggle is continuing to this day. Furthermore, the more confidently Marxism asserts itself as the basis for the spiritual development of mankind, the more energetic become the efforts of the bourgeoisie aimed at its "refutation."

The history of the "100 Year War" waged by bourgeois ideology against Marxism is aware of many examples of the strategic and tactical maneuvers of our class enemy. Fierce attacks have been frequently mixed with temporary retreats under the flag of "reconciliation" with Marxism. This includes political economy as well. As early as 84 years ago, V. I. Lenin noted with merciless accuracy that "yes, unable to present any somewhat serious objections to 'Das Kapital,' 'universally recognized science' began to bow and scrape in front of it, while continuing, at the same time, to show its most basic ignorance and repeat the old triviality of school room economics" ("Poln Sobr Soch" [Complete Collected Works], Vol 1, p 176). However, this "scraping and bowing" to Marxism could not, until recently, rival in scope and intensity with the general line of bourgeois ideology--violent anti-communism, and open hatred for K. Marx and his legacy.

Until the middle of the 1960's the trend toward concealing the economic works of Marx and the a priori rejection of their scientific value, "free" from any serious proof, continued to dominate bourgeois political economy. The "critique" of Marx (with rare exceptions) was conducted on the level of a groundless and gross distortion of his ideas and methodology. Let us immediately state that the pillars of bourgeois science themselves prefer today not to recall the assessments they made at that time concerning Marx and his economic doctrine. "A second rate Ricardo, Marx was self-educated,

deprived in his lifetime of competent criticism and stimulation," wrote, for example, in 1957 one of the most outstanding representatives of the neo-classical trend in bourgeois political economy, P. Samuelson, as though setting the tone of a basic repudiation of Marxism.

At that time interpretations of Marx's theory of value and of surplus value was characteristic of the Keynesians as well. Thus, the well-known British Keynesian follower G. Robinson, accepting some elements of Marx's system, proclaimed his theory of value, with remarkable direct expansiveness, as "Hegelianism and nonsense," "disjointed idle talk," and others.

The centennial of "Das Kapital" became a kind of landmark in bourgeois Marxology. Certainly, the processes which had piled up over a long period of time within bourgeois political economy merged in an unparalleled explosion of praises of Marx as one of the greatest geniuses of mankind. The 11 years which followed were noted by an unabated "sympathetic" interest in him. A tremendous number of works were published aimed at "restoring the truth," providing a "correct interpretation" of Marx, expressing in a "logically strict" or "mathematized" form the individual stipulations of his theory, and "tactfully" point out some of his "errors." After long decades of ostracism, great efforts were made to bring Marx into the channel of "orthodox" political economy. Enthusiasm for Marx became a fashion covering all basic currents of bourgeois economic thought--neo-classical, neo-Keynesian, and radical.

Even though the desire of the bourgeois ideologues to find a *modus vivendi* with Marxism is far from new, nevertheless, a number of reasons lead us to say that in the 1960's and 1970's, to a certain extent, a new stage occurred in the development of this trend.

First of all, the current round of "bowing and scraping feet" in front of Marx is taking place under qualitatively new circumstances, under the pressure of the insurmountable forward movement of real socialism which is acting as the leading force of contemporary worldwide development. The triumph of Marx's genial predictions is also a triumph of his economic doctrine, and of the scientific method for the study of social life he elaborated and applied.

Secondly, the very scale at which Marx is praised speaks of certain qualitative changes in the bourgeois interpretation of Marxism. Whereas in the past isolated "legal" Marxists or individual major authorities such as the famous Austrian scientist J. Schumpeter, who stood above official-police considerations, could provide a more or less objective assessment of his works, today the most noted representatives of practically all schools of official bourgeois science are bowing to the founder of proletarian ideology. In this connection the social status of "legal" Marxism, which is acquiring an ever broader social-political base, has changed.

Thirdly, and finally, the very methodology of the bourgeois interpretation of Marxism has changed. Marx's contemporary interpreters are trying to study and criticize Marxism not from without but from within, on the basis of Marxism itself. Also characteristic is the shift of the center of gravity in the attempts to "integrate" individual Marxian ideas within the system of the bourgeois outlook.

Beginning in the 1950's with broad speculations concerning Marx's early philosophical works, his bourgeois "well-wishers" gradually went deeper, as a result of which, today one of the main areas of their "research" is the theory of capital and surplus value.

I.

Typical in this respect is the evolution of the views of the aforementioned Samuelson. Beginning with 1973, his famous textbook "Economics" has included a separate section on Marx's economic theory. "Marxism," Samuelson emphasizes, "is too valuable to be left to the Marxists." In his latest work, especially dedicated to the Marxist theory of capital, he even assumes the role of Marx's "defender" not only from his enemies but "from his followers and, sometimes, from himself."

The methodological method used by Samuelson in trying to resolve this, to say the least, irresponsibly formulated problem, is reduced to interpreting Marx's system exclusively within the framework of formal-logical considerations and mathematical computations. "Regardless of the class struggle," he writes, "two and two make four and not five, and an approximate answer to the question of whether the real wage has risen over a century or has remained stable could have been resolved in such a way as to satisfy a jury in New York, Moscow, Delhi, Prague, and Peking."

Anyway, two and two make indeed four. Yet, in addition to the rules of multiplication and division, far more complex laws operate in socioeconomic life, discovered by Marx on the basis of dialectical materialism and stubbornly ignored by bourgeois political economy. The intentional primitivism of the "neo-classical patriarch" reveals, in addition to theoretical helplessness, an entirely clear ideological objective--to kill the living soul of Marxism, to deprive it of its revolutionism, and to convert Marx into a commonplace bourgeois liberal.

Samuelson tries to single out in Marxism a "conciliatory formulation," of the problem of exploitation which would suit both Marx's supporters and opponents. He deems it possible to agree with the Marxists on the basis of the labor theory of value but not in its Marxian understanding but in the so-called "undiluted" aspect formulated by A. Smith. Samuelson acknowledges the right to life of Smith's labor theory of value and the "labor theory of value" as expressed in the terms of contemporary bourgeois political economy (neo-Ricardianism). However, he denies this right to Marx's labor theory of value which he proclaims an "unnecessary aside."

The reasons for this position are no secret. The radical distinction between these concepts and Marx's theory is that the latter considers production not only with the help of quantitative and technical-economic categories but, above all, with the help of qualitative and socioeconomic concepts--hired manpower and capital--exposing the nature of the capitalist production method as a system of exploitation doomed to death and to being replaced with a higher social system--socialism. It is precisely such conclusions, inevitably stemming from Marx's theory, that do not suit Samuelson.

Nor do they suit, let us add, his neo-classical colleagues, one of the most popular among whom today is M. Morishima, the Japanese economist-mathematician and representative of the "objectivistic" trend. The ratio between value and production price is the focal point of his attention.

As we know, ever since Bohm-Bawerk, the opinion that Marx, allegedly, was unable to resolve the so-called "transformation problem," i.e., to prove the way value converts into production price, has dominated in bourgeois political economy. Even though F. Engels himself provided an exhaustive answer to such "criticism," the idea of the existence of contradictions between the first and third volumes of "Das Kapital" has been whipped up in bourgeois political economy. In the 1940's and 1950's it even became once again, essentially, the main motif in the neo-classical criticism of Marx's theory of capital and surplus value.

This is far from accidental. As we know, the vulgar nature of bourgeois political economy is manifested in the fact that, unlike the truly scientific Marxist-Leninist theory, it studies not the profound and essential laws of the capitalist production method but the external forms of economic phenomena and their relations, "as it appears in the phenomena of competition and the way it would seem to an outside observer as well as to a person practically involved in the bourgeois production process and practically interested in it" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch" [Works], Vol 26, Part II, p 177). This vulgar approach ignores the internal dialectical interrelationship among described phenomena, and the logic of their historical development. Therefore, the ideal reflection of the real capitalist economy turns out imbued with unresolved formal-logical contradictions in bourgeois theories.

The bourgeois concept of capital is a clear example of this. To the practical capitalist "capital" represents everything which helps to make a profit. Hence the bourgeois theoretical economist concludes that "capital is simply a synonym for 'productive force.'" Capital includes everything which is useful in production: Human skill, individual honesty in business deals, cut flowers, land, raw materials, roads, bridges, buildings, machines, and the strength of the social order." The theoretical groundlessness of such vulgar definitions of capital (contemporary bourgeois political economy offers no other definitions) is manifested immediately should we ask the following question: How to compare "cut flowers" with the "firmness of the social order," and how to assess their share in the production of the overall product? Physically, they are non-comparable; their "price," as well as the price of the elements of factual productive capital, can not be used as a measurement scale, for they constantly fluctuate under the influence of market conditions.

The bourgeois theoreticians seek a solution to this dead end through fantastic assumptions concerning the existence of a certain homogenous physical substance which could provide a basis for the reciprocal comparison of economic values and the "free" convertability of capital into product. It is obvious, however, that in the final quarter of the 20th Century, the search for an "economic phlogiston" could hardly be considered a legitimate direction of scientific research. The insolubility of this problem has become, as acknowledged by the bourgeois economists themselves, the real heel of Achilles of their theory. The ideological meaning of speculations on contradictions between the first and third volumes of "Das Kapital," precisely consists of an attempt to prove that Marxism, allegedly, is unable to provide a solution to the problem of commensurateness, for value and production price are non-comparable.

Morishima demonstrably breaks with this old neo-classical tradition by acknowledging the legitimate link between the first and third volumes of "Das Kapital," as relatively autonomous conceptual systems. ("No contradictions exist between Volumes One and Three," he writes, "but development does.") Such an admission could be considered as proof of Morishima's scientific conscientiousness. However, it is far from being a characteristic of ideological disarmament. The interpretation of the nature of the interrelationship between value and production price, proposed by Morishima, as well as the categories themselves, are a distortion of the essence of Marx's theory, and an attempt to squeeze the dialectical content of Marxism within the narrow framework of this same formal-logical method.

Whereas Marx viewed as value the mean abstract socially necessary labor within which the entire wealth of social relations between commodity producers and other commodity production agents was concentrated, in Morishima's system the "abstraction" from the specific definitions of various types of labor is reduced to the fact that their duration is considered a measurement--the specific working time weighed in accordance with intersectorial ratios. Therefore, the social content of labor as the only source of social value disappears entirely. Essentially, working time is found in Morishima's model as a physical value participating in the production process along with material products. The social "value" turns out to be the simple total of factually spent time while the question of establishing the norms of exploitation is reduced to the specific computation of the breakdown of the work day.

Morishima's mathematized "labor value," whose realm of application is encompassed within formal-logical functional models, represents, essentially, a neo-classical reflection of some aspects of the theory of value, for which reason it is inevitably burdened by the same contradictions as purely neo-classical categories. The radical conflict between the approaches taken by Marx and Morishima is manifested also when Morishima tries to provide a formal-logical description of the interrelationship between "computation based on value" and "computation based on production price." In Morishima's interpretation historical and class value elements are totally eliminated:

Value is considered merely as the extreme variant of the production price in which profit equals zero. In other words, he is unable to understand the main thing: That the production price represents a converted form of value which reflects a most profound historical change in socio-production relations--a transition from simple commodity output to a capitalist system based on the private ownership of productive capital and the exploitation of hired labor.

Morishima's desire to "protect" Marx from traditional bourgeois criticism is dictated only by the objective of incorporating Marxism within the system of the neo-classical theories of growth. Morishima's work abounds in naive sentences which praise Marx as a great economist and . . . founder of contemporary bourgeois macro-dynamics, along with an equal to L. (Val'ras), J. Keynes, J. Hicks, V. Leont'yev, and J. von Neumann. However, Morishima is ready to "admit" Marx to the olympus of modern bourgeois political economy for a stiff price. He demands that some "particulars" be excised from Marxism in advance. As one should expect, they include: 1. The labor theory of value; 2. The theory of capitalist exploitation; and 3. The conclusion of the inevitability of the failure of the capitalist production method. Morishima admits himself that such a "cleansing" would turn Marxism into a "paper tiger." Such is the true lining of the "well-wishing" interest expressed by bourgeois neo-classical economists in Marx and his economic theory.

II.

In recent years the attitude toward Marxism has noticeably changed on the part of Keynes' followers. The ideological grounds for this change were prepared by some characteristics in the development of bourgeois political economy itself.

As we know, at the beginning of the 1960's, the parallel development and difference between the two most influential trends in modern bourgeois political economy--neo-classicism and neo-Keynesian--were replaced by attempts to achieve a so-called neo-classical synthesis. That same Samuelson and other bourgeois theoreticians stood at its origins, hoping to strengthen the positions of non-Marxist economic thinking as a whole by blending the "merits" of both directions which, essentially, represented varieties of a single formal-logical approach which operates with superficial categories, reflecting merely the external and visible forms of economic life and of the subjective concepts of its participants.

In the course of the practical achievement of this synthesis it was revealed that it was a question, essentially, of integrating the ideas and concepts of Keynesianism within the neo-classical system and of the loss of its role as a separate and leading trend in bourgeois political economy. This triggered a negative reaction on the part of a number of Keynesians--supporters of an active governmental policy and social reforms--leading to the radicalizing of the leftwing within Keynesianism and the appearance of a currently quite influential group of leftwing post-Keynesians. Their aspiration to

protect and "intensify" was materialized in their attempts to combine his doctrine with reborn neo-Ricardianism. The tendency to "rehabilitate" Marx and to use individual Marxist concepts in support of their own was a legitimate consequence of this evolution.

The well-known economist P. Sraffa, who published in 1960 the work "Commodity Production Through Commodities," which, according to the author, took about 30 years to write, is the most outstanding representative of contemporary neo-Ricardianism. Sraffa's ideological positions and methodological essence are clearly reflected in the very title of the book. He considers the production of commodities not as a constructive process of labor and the production of value but as the simple blending of production factors and specific outlays, including labor, which could be merged within the matrix of an intersectorial balance.

The novelty of this concept is that, based on the intersectorial balance method, he has tried to resolve the sacramental problem of commensurability of capital and product with the help of complex transformations of the values of individual commodities (Sraffa uses as the final scale for determining the value of commodities the so-called "baited labor"--the price of specific labor and material outlays estimated in accordance with the influence of interest rates--the longer they are tied to the results of labor in the course of the production and marketing process, the lower their relative present value becomes).

Sraffa himself did not consider the question of the correlation between his system and Marx's theory. Yet, the extensive literature published on "The Production of Commodities Through Commodities" as a rule attempt to depict Sraffa as just about the continuator of Marx's work. The British scientist R. (Meek) has even proclaimed Marxism as being no more than a kind of bridge linking Ricardo with Sraffa. "Over 100 years after Marx wrote the third volume of 'Das Kapital,' his claim that the problem of transformation could be resolved . . . has been entirely confirmed," another Marxologist claims.

The study of Sraffa's concept requires a special consideration (I. Osadchaya, "Leftwing Keynesianism and Contemporary Anti-Marginalism," VOPROSY EKONOMIKI, No 2, 1977). The progressive significance of his opposition to the theory of maximal usefulness and maximal productivity is that Sraffa depicts from within the groundlessness of the basic foundations of bourgeois political economy. Restoring it to its classical positions, and reasserting the long-forgotten view that labor is the father of wealth, unquestionably, he proves to be superior to any representative of fruitless neo-classical marginalism. However, this too reveals the total groundlessness of statements to the effect that Sraffa's concept is "similar" to Marx's economic doctrine. His concept is radically different from and, in some respects, even directly hostile to Marxism-Leninism.

As proof let us recall, above all, that the most important side of the revolutionary turn in political economy, made by Marx, was the disclosure of the specific nature of manpower as commodity. Marx proved that the worker sells to the capitalist not his work but his ability to work and that the use of manpower by capitalism becomes the source of surplus value. In Sraffa there is no manpower category. In both trade and production there is "labor." Naturally, this represents a negation of the very fact of capitalist exploitation.

Marxist political economy exposes the double nature of labor contained in goods, and shows the dialectical unity between concrete and abstract labor. Sraffa considers merely one aspect of concrete labor--the technical-economic proportions within which labor is combined with material elements in the course of the production process.

The Marxist concept opens the way to the disclosure of the basic laws of the capitalist production method within the unity of the historical and logical principles. Sraffa's concept conceals relations among people in the decisive realm of human activities--the realm of production--for the share of capital and labor in the produced commodity, according to his system, is rigidly established by technological coefficients and the length of the production process.

Briefly stated, Sraffa's concept displays the same insoluble internal contradictions as the models of his bourgeois opponents.

The radical differences between Marxism and neo-Ricardianism are manifested particularly clearly in the socio-political conclusions. Sraffa's tremendous popularity among the bourgeois intelligentsia is explained by the fact that his concept ideally suits the interests of bourgeois reformism.

The "labor" nature of this concept should, in the view of bourgeois reformists, make it attractive to the working people and provide them with an ideological and theoretical platform in their struggle for "justice." Sraffa, as Ricardo in his time, proceeds from the conflict between the class interests of the workers and of the owners of productive capital, establishing the principle of the inverse ratio between profit and wage in the distribution of the national income.

However, where does this "quasi-Marxist" concept lead the working class? As Sraffa claims, the conflict between the working class and the bourgeoisie is rooted not in the realm of production but of distribution. Therefore, the social conclusions which stem from his concept do not exceed the limits of the old reformist theory of "tug-of-war" between the capitalist and the worker which, as a result of the publication of his book, acquired a firm "theoretical" substantiation.

Developing Sraffa's ideas, the leftwing post-Keynesians are trying to convert the "trade" theory into the starting point of political economy. In particular, they try to explain it with the help of the price setting and economic growth mechanisms. It is hardly amazing that the theory of "trade" is turned here into its opposite (and principal) aspect--an appeal for "moderation" in the economic struggle.

In the post Keynesian models the rate of economic growth is directly proportional to the rate of accumulations which, influencing to a certain extent the distribution ratios, in turn, is determined by the share of the saved portion of the profit in the national income. Hence the "paradoxes of interdependence" between the main classes of the capitalist society, described in detail by the post-Keynesians. The fact that the trade unions are restraining the growth of the norms of exploitation, Robinson, for example, claims, benefits, in the final account, the capitalists for gradual increases in real wages rescue capitalism from overproduction crises. If the capitalists are energetic and thrifty the workers can, allegedly, only benefit from the high norm of exploitation as a result of increased national exports. "Providing that the exploitation norm, even though high, does not increase in the course of time," Robinson writes, "the real wage goes up and the specific group of workers finds itself in a considerably improved material position compared with those fighting for their rights."

It would be unnecessary to prove that the idea of class cooperation, based on a "just" and "optimum" distribution of the growing national income, promoted by the post-Keynesians, has nothing in common with the Marxist-Leninist program of the revolutionary replacement of capitalism. The unquestionable merit of Sraffa's concept in the eyes of the bourgeois liberals is, precisely, that unlike "dogmatic" Marxism it contains no revolutionary "extremes."

Nevertheless, let us note that the leftwing Keynesians who, until recently, were the main opponents of the Marxist labor theory of value (Robinson) are coming closer to neo-Ricardianism, along with some progressive economists who, in the 1940's and 1950's, may a substantial contribution to the defense and popularization of Marxist theories (R. (Meek), and M. Dobb). This regrouping of forces in one of the most important areas of theoretical political economy, based on the rejection of the revolutionary content of Marx's doctrine, reflects certain general processes in the ideological circumstances prevailing in the developed capitalist countries where, along with the "turn to the left" of bourgeois social awareness, we note also a certain upsurge of revisionist feelings among members of the intelligentsia close to Marxism.

III.

The desire to discover a "new," as yet unknown Marx is particularly strong among the representatives of the so-called "radical" trend in bourgeois economy. The progressive breakdown of official bourgeois economic science, caused by its creative helplessness and inability to explain stormy contemporary events, was clearly manifested in its appearance in the middle of the 1960's and rapid subsequent growth.

Radical political economy is an international phenomenon. However, the profound spiritual discord among the American intelligentsia, related to the war in Vietnam and the severe crisis experienced by the "mass consumption society" provided the direct impetus for its establishment as an autonomous trend in bourgeois (or, more precisely, petit bourgeois) political economy.

In the circumstances of the mid 1960's, the first radicals who criticized the dogmas and prejudices of traditional political economy displayed civic courage. One decade after the hysteria of McCarthyism an atmosphere of police intolerance of Marxism nevertheless remained hanging like the sword of Damocles over all American scientists. In addition to everything else, the potential threat of persecution was a major reason which determined the adoption by bourgeois economists of the so-called "pure theory," and their emphatic alienation from the acute problems and contradictions of real socioeconomic life. Anyone who dared introduce in this area, just about the most conservative in bourgeois social thinking, not even Marxist but simply sociological aspects risked ostracism. We know, for example, how long John Kenneth Galbraith, full of good intentions, was refused recognition as an "economist" in the strict meaning of the term.

The end of the Vietnam war and detente changed the overall ideological climate in the United States. Acknowledging Marx's scientific services became not only admissible but fashionable. The radical trend was given the right of citizenship. This led not only to a mass influx of "newly circulated" but also of specific changes in the content of radical doctrines.

The 1974-1975 economic crisis contributed to a tremendous extent to the growth of the popularity of the radicals. The crisis made a profound impact on bourgeois political economy, quite similar to that of the Great Depression as in the 1930's, the crisis delineated particularly clearly the great successes of existing socialism and created among the broad Western social circles tremendous interest in the ideas guiding the peoples of the socialist countries. The crisis convincingly proved the narrow and contradictory nature of state-monopoly control of the economy, forcing the bourgeois scientists to take a critical look at the Keynesian ideas on which it was based and on the postulates of the neo-classics who had led a parasitical existence based on the relative economic prosperity in the main capitalist countries in the 1950's and 1960's.

A certain correction of positions in the ideological struggle against Marxism also played a major role in this "reassessment of values." One way or another, bourgeois political economy was forced to respond to the increased gravitation toward Marxism, review cliches, and formulate some new arguments directed against Marx's economic theory and the economic practice of the socialist countries. The "legalizing" of Marxism, as applied to the representatives of radical political economy, could be considered as one of the forms taken by this reaction.

Unlike the neo-classics and the post-Keynesians, the radical trend does not have a common ideological-theoretical and methodological base which would make it possible to describe it as an entity. This variegated conglomerate of theories and viewpoints is linked by three common characteristics:

One or another extent of anti-capitalist direction;

Total or partial rejection of traditional bourgeois political economy;

Acknowledgment of the scientific significance of Marxism and the desire to use some views and entire parts of Marxist-Leninist political economy.

Many radicals proclaim themselves Marxists (for details see K. Kozlova. "Leftwing Radical Political Economy in the United States," *MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA*, No 2, 1978). Naturally, Marx's theory is open to all sincere supporters of social progress and the conversion of bourgeois intellectuals to Marx's positions has always and will always take place. It is also understandable that it is taking place through the partial acceptance of one or another concept opening the way to an awareness of the overall Marxist system and the adoption of its revolutionary conclusions.

Radical political economy popularizes Marx's immortal doctrine and familiarizes the broad social strata in the capitalist countries with individual Marxist-Leninist concepts. Yet, it also bears the unavoidable birthmarks of the bourgeois outlook. This is manifested, above all, in the inability of many radical economists to surmount the "dialectical threshold" and the "threshold of historicism," to embrace the sum total of Marxist views, and to understand the organic interconnection among its individual aspects and the inevitability of the political and ideological conclusions legitimately stemming from Marx's economic theory.

Thus, the "legal Marxist" H. Wagener, who heads a chair at Leiden University, dedicated his initial lecture to the system of Marxist political economy. He substantively blamed the traditional schools of bourgeois economic thought of ignoring the dialectical and historical nature of Marxism consistent with the dynamics of social development. Wagener precisely defined the role and significance of the labor theory of value in Marxist political economy as a means for establishing the structure and basic laws of the evolution of the capitalist production method rather than of the mechanism of market prices. He also clearly saw that the correlation between social labor outlays and social requirements takes place differently depending on the socioeconomic system of one or another society.

However, in an effort to substantiate these views, Wagener becomes confused in specific matters. He tries to prove Marxist dialectical concepts with the help of formal-logical concepts borrowed from the arsenal of bourgeois political economy. In the system he develops the absurd concept of the equal norm of exploitation of every worker becomes a prerequisite for the

correctness of the Marxist system. Differences in the positions of individual detachments of the working class, to follow Wagener's logic, arising in the process of the factual economic struggle, refute Marx's theory. Like the majority of other radicals Wagener does not share Marx's conviction concerning the historically imminent failure of capitalism.

T. Sauell, whose views are similar to those of the radicals, is in a similar position. Condemning those who distort the content of Marx's economic works through their mathematization, he proves to be himself the captive of formal-logical thinking. For example, he reaches the point that logically "Marx's socially necessary labor" could be translated into the language of the theory of extreme usefulness "had Marx had sufficient flexibility, time, and energy to accomplish this."

In his relative study of Marxism and Keynesianism, the American radical P. Mattick, describes thoroughly and accurately the basic concepts of Marx's economic theory. He convincingly exposes the parasitical and aggressive nature of imperialism and proves the limited nature of Keynesian recipes for a state economic policy. However, the desire to rise above the real class forces of our epoch in political matters immediately lead him to the abandonment of Marxism and of Marx's conclusions concerning social development prospects. Mattick attacks real socialism depicting it as an allegedly mixed society of the state-capitalist type. He interprets Leninism as a specifically Russian phenomenon and claims that Lenin's economic works were of a purely pragmatic nature. Mattick's own political conclusions confirm his total theoretical helplessness and have nothing in common with Marxism. He regrets the lack of revolutionism in the contemporary proletariat and allows for the possibility that there would be no proletarian revolution in general in the developed capitalist countries. Essentially, he considers the anarcho-syndicalist way of a general strike which, allegedly, could bring capitalism down on its knees, as the only possible way, even though it has long been refuted by reality.

"Probably," E. Hunt and H. Sherman, the leading theoreticians of the new direction believe, "every American radical has his own ideas as to what socialism should be in reality. They all agree that there should be no private profit, and that such a society should create conditions for a life of dignity, be humanistic, and rest on a true political democracy. As to the rest, no common viewpoint is shared on a single specific matter."

The radical economists are one of the numerous Western intellectual groups who have broken with imperialism spiritually and politically but are not as yet ready, by virtue of one reason or another, to join the revolutionary workers' movement. Assuming an intermediary position in the irreconcilable struggle between proletarian and bourgeois ideology, they are trying to find their own "third" way. Supporting Marx as the critic of capitalism, they reject his theory of the socialist revolution. This is the reason for the inconsistency and oscillations of the radicals in the field of politics, stemming from their eclectic confusion in the field of theoretical problems.

Many radicals stop midway. Some of yesterday's "almost Marxists" become renegades and fierce opponents of a theory which they, until recently, revered, either unable or unwilling to study it seriously.

Clearly realizing that the spreading of Marxism is accompanied by the need to increase the struggle against its opportunistic debasement, we must acknowledge the essential significance of the very fact of the split within bourgeois political economy into a traditional and a radical direction. The representatives of the latter study Marx's works not for official-apologetic purposes but, above all, in obedience to their scientific conscience and the merciless logic of life. With all their errors and their half-way and inconsistent political views, they represent one of the numerous currents of social progress, one of the "dynamic results" of the insurmountable dissemination of Marxist-Leninist ideas. The development of radical political economy is a legitimate consequence of the tremendous gravitation toward Marxism currently noted among the broad strata of the intelligentsia in the capitalist and developing countries.

The new currents blowing in bourgeois political economy in terms of the basic concepts of Marx's economic theory are an important and a noteworthy phenomenon.

Contemporary social development clearly and irrefutably convinces the people's masses of the veracity of Marx's theory and of the invincible strength of its ideas. Even the fierce anti-communists can not ignore this. Hence the new tactic adopted by the opponents of Marxism. Naturally, the growth of the "sympathetic" interest in Marx displayed by representatives of traditional bourgeois political economy proves that here it is a question less of the reassessment of Marx than of the reassessment of the discredited methods used in criticizing Marxism, in an effort to make them somewhat realistic and convincing. The new methods for falsifying Marxism under the banner of discovering the "new" Marx, with the entire variety of ideological and methodological shades reflecting the differentiation and struggle within the various currents of bourgeois and petit bourgeois political economy offer specific proof of the increased complexity and intensification of the ideological struggle in the contemporary world and demand particular vigilance and substantiated exposure.

The "battle for Marx" is a battle for the minds of millions of people who seek in his works an answer to the vital problems of our time and a solution to the ideological and spiritual confusion in which the society of state-monopoly capitalist has found itself. Their path to the truth is difficult and far from straight. Today the circle of "conscientious mistaken people" is broader than ever before. Therefore, the responsibility of the vanguard of the international working class--the communist and workers parties--is greater than ever.

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CSO: 1802

NEW DOCUMENTS FROM THE GREAT PATRIOTIC WAR

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 7, May 1978 pp 76-109

[Text] One-third of a century ago the Soviet Union won a universal-historical victory. In the heroic and intensive fight against the brown plague--German fascism--our people and its armed forces, headed by the Communist Party, defended the honor, freedom, and independence of the homeland of the October Revolution and made a decisive contribution to the liberation of the European peoples from fascist enslavement.

"The immortal exploit of the Soviet troops on the fronts of the Great Patriotic War will not fade through the centuries," stated the Greeting of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and USSR Council of Ministers to the Troops of the Valorous Armed Forces of the Soviet Union. This exploit is inseparable from the comprehensive activities of the Leninist party which, throughout the entire war, was a truly fighting party. It was precisely the party that organized and inspired the Soviet people and focused their energy and will toward a single goal--the defeat of the fascist aggressors.

The purposeful and effective party-political work was a powerful means for the implementation of the policy of the Communist Party and Soviet state in the conditions of a fierce armed struggle and the mobilization of the troops for the defeat of the enemy. It contributed to the steady growth of the combat power of the armed forces and molded the firmness, courage, and heroism of the defenders of the socialist homeland.

Providing political guidance to the armed forces, our party's Central Committee displayed constant concern for strengthening and improving the activities of military councils, political administrations of fronts and fleets, and political departments of armies, flotillas, corps, divisions, and brigades. Many experienced party leaders--Central Committee members and candidate members, and secretaries of central committees of communist parties of union republics, kraykoms, and obkoms--were members of military councils and chiefs of political organs. One of them was Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev who was in the active army from the first to the last days of the war.

The military councils and political organs were the true promoters of the policy of the Communist Party in the struggle with the hated enemy. Throughout the war the political workers and party organizers were the support and combat assistants of commanders. They actively entered all aspects of the life and combat activities of the troops, daily strengthening the moral spirit of the soldiers, concerning themselves with the satisfaction of their needs and demands.

Party-political work was conducted the more purposefully and energetically the more complex the front circumstances became. A convincing proof of this is the party-political work done in the 18th Army and other formations. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has vividly and inspiredly described its content, forms, and methods in his memoirs entitled "Malaya Zemlya."

New documents from the archives, published for the first time, offer a clear idea of the comprehensive activities of the political organs and party organizations in the inordinately complex conditions of the battles at Novorossiysk.

The combat situation in that area and the tasks of the troops of the 18th Landing Army in February 1943 are described in the operative order issued by the staff of the North Caucasian Front and the battle order of the staff of the Black Sea Group of Forces.

The documents which follow--the appeal of the military council, directive of the political department of the 18th Army, political reports, and other materials--show all aspects of party-political work and its high battle tenseness.

The value of these documents lies, above all, in the fact that they not only show the ways and means of political work but provide a clear idea of its influence on the minds of the Soviet troops and their education in a spirit of infinite loyalty to the homeland and true mass heroism. The documents contain specific examples of the exceptional firmness and dedication of soldiers, seamen, sergeants, master sergeants, and officers, displayed in the battles against the Hitlerite invaders.

The great and comprehensive work of L. I. Brezhnev, chief of the 18th Army Political Department, is reflected through the lense of political reports and other materials. The document signed by him on the results of the heroic defense of Malaya Zemlya, in the period of 17 to 25 April 1943, is of tremendous interest. It provides a deep analysis of the existing circumstances and shows in detail the forms of party-political work in the course of combat operations.

The party members were in the front ranks of the fighters, inspiring to exploits the Soviet troops through Bolshevik words and personal examples. The party and Komsomol members were the cementing nucleus of subunits and units. Three million party members fell bravely in the fronts of the Great Patriotic War. The Communist Party and its Central Committee ascribed great importance to strengthening the party organizations, the growth of party ranks in the army and navy, and securing the vanguard role of the party members in the battles against the Hitlerite aggressors.

The political organs and party organizations of the active troops conducted daily organizational and educational work in the selection of the worthy soldiers in the ranks of the Communist Party. This is confirmed by the published documents on party-political work in the 18th Army. The 9 May 1943 directive issued by L. I. Brezhnev, chief of the army's political department, emphasizes that "the growth of the VKP(b) ranks is the most important sector of party-political work and indicator of the level of the condition of intra-party and educational work in the units." It calls for the "systematic study of the condition of the party's growth by individual party organization and for drawing the necessary practical conclusions." The directive calls for paying great attention to the operative consideration of petitions for joining the party submitted in battle and on the prompt issuance of party documents.

The 2 May 1943 report by L. I. Brezhnev, the army's political department chief, contains a special section entitled "The Best People Are in the Bolshevik Party." The figures and facts cited convincingly prove that the more complex the circumstances became the stronger was the desire of the people to tie their fate to the Communist Party and that the most worthy soldiers, distinguished in battle, were selected for its ranks. "'I want to join the battle as a communist!' I heard these words which had become legendary practically on the eve of every battle, and the more frequently the more severe the battles were. What benefits could a person obtain, what rights could he be given by the party on the eve of a mortal battle? A single privilege, a single right, a single duty--to be the first to rise to the attack, to be the first to rush against the fire," states L. I. Brezhnev in his "Malaya Zemlya" memoirs. The materials from the archives clearly confirm this statement.

The extremely rich experience in party-political work gained during the Great Patriotic War has not lost its importance to the practical activities of political organs, and party organizations in molding the high moral spirit of the personnel of the Soviet Armed Forces today as well.

The documents published here are stored in the Central Archives of the USSR Ministry of Defense (TsAMO). The documents were prepared for publication by Major Generals Yu. V. Yakunin, and S. K. Il'in, Colonel V. V. Gurkin, and Lieutenant Colonel V. V. Tarakanov. The initials of the participants in the battles and the dates of some documents established by the compilers are enclosed in parentheses.

Document No 1

Battle Order of the Staff of the Black Sea Group of Forces*

5 February 1943 1800 hours

To the Commander of the Landing Detachment Colonel Gordeyev (D. V.)

*Telegraphed

NVMB¹ Landing Detachment within the Marine Infantry Battalion commanded by Major Kunikov (TsL) successfully captured (the settlement) Stanichka and is continuing to hold the captured area.

I hereby order:

1. Using the captured bridgehead, Colonel Gordeyev will systematically concentrate his landing detachment in the Stanichka area. For this purpose, at the end of 5 February 1943 he will transfer Colonel (A. S.) Potapov's 255 MSBr², and Major Smeyanovich's* Parachute Regiment included within the landing detachment, with a subsequent reinforcement of the landing detachment with units from the 165th SBr,³ 83rd MSBr,⁴ and 29th iptap.⁵

The transfer by sea and landing ashore will be done by order of the commander of the Black Sea Fleet.

2. Assignment of the landing detachment:

- a. To secure firmly and reliably the seized area and broaden it from Sudzhukskaya Kosa to the Western pier of Novorossiysk Port;
- b. To capture the hill with the cemetery and the southern part of Novorossiysk to Krasnoarmeyskaya Street;
- c. To clear the Myskhako area to the following lines: The hill with the cemetery, and the nameless elevation (one kilometer east of Fedotovka).

Subsequently, as the landing forces increase, assault groups will clear Novorossiysk and, at the same time, seize hill 307.2, and the nameless hill (0.5 kilometers to the northwest).

A special order will be issued for subsequent actions governed by the circumstances.

3. The operations of the landing detachment shall be supported by:

- a. The NVMB Coastal Artillery;
- b. The left group of the army artillery of the 47th A,⁶ according to the plan and order of the artillery commander.

4. The landing detachment--all units landed and operating in the Stanichka area shall be commanded by Marine Infantry Battalion Commander Major Kunikov until the arrival of the landing area of Colonel Potapov, commanding officer of the 255th MSBr.

*Major F. A. Smeyanovich commanded the 31st Parachute-Landing Regiment of the Black Sea Group of Forces.

Colonel Potapov, commander of the 255th MSBr will assume command of the Stanichka area on arrival and after receiving a briefing on the situation. The time of transfer of command will be determined by Colonel Potapov but must not be later than one hour from the time of landing. As of 1800 hours on 5 February Colonel Godeyev, commander of the landing detachment, will establish his command post in the area of the 9th kilometer of the Novorossiysk Highway. Following the transfer of the 165th SBr to the landing area, Colonel Gordeyev will move his command post to Stanichka.

Communications with the landing detachments shall be conducted by radio in the following direction: Colonel Gordeyev's headquarters--VPU (auxiliary command post) of the group, duplicated through navy radio communications via Rear Admiral Kholostyakov (G. N.), NVMB commander, and along the artillery communications line.

The radio stations will operate as follows: From the landing detachment to senior headquarters--every odd hour of the day; to the headquarters of the landing detachment--every even hour.

5. The landing of the 83rd MSBr will take place depending on the circumstances.

6. A separate order will be issued on the material support of the landing detachment.

7. Please confirm.

Group Commander Iv. Petrov

Deputy Chief of Staff Kotov

Original

USSR TsAMO, Archive 276, List 811, File 164, Sheets 22-23

Document No 2

Operative Order of Headquarters of the North Caucasian Front

11 February 1943, 1335 hours

To the Commanding Officer of the Black Sea Group of Forces SKF⁷

Copies to:

Commanding officer of the 18th Landing and 46th, 56th, and 47th A

Commanding officer of the Black Sea Fleet

Chief of the GShKA⁸

Deputy Commander of Troops for the Rear

In accordance with the instructions of the Headquarters of the Supreme Commander in Chief, dated 11 February 1943, I order:

1. The 18th Landing Army shall be raised by 15 February 1943 and shall include:

Field administration of the 18th A and all rear institutions within the 18th A;

All troop units to be transferred to the captured bridgehead in the area of Novorossiysk, Stanichka, Glebovka, and svkh.⁹ Myskhako;

16th sk¹⁰ from the reserve of the commanding officer Black Sea Group;

10th gv. sk¹¹ (consisting of the 4th, 5th, and 8th gv. SBr¹²) from the 56th and 47th A,* the 176th and 318th sd¹³ from the 47th A and reinforcements: 1 TBr,¹⁴ 2 argk regiments, and 1 GMCh¹⁶ regiment from the Black Sea Group.

2. The troops of the Black Sea Group shall include the 56th and 47th A and 18th Landing Army.

3. The Black Sea Fleet will be operatively subordinated to the commander of the 18th Landing A.

4. Assign the 18th Landing Army the task of capturing within the shortest possible time Novorossiysk and reach the Varenikovskaya and Gostagayevskaya areas, cutting off the enemy withdrawal to the Tamanskiy Peninsula along the southern bank of the Kuban' River.

Before the arrival of the field command of major general Comrade Koroteyev (K. A.), commanding officer of the 18th Landing Army, the command of the troops shall be provided by the headquarters of the operational group commanded by Major General Grechkin (A. A.).

5. The 18th A shall be disbanded and the army's combat units shall be transferred as follows: Individual infantry brigades--to the 46th A; infantry divisions and reinforcements--to the 56th A.

6. At the end of 13 February the combat units of the 46th and 56th armies shall be transferred by the commanding officers to the 5th commanding officer of the 18th Army Major General Comrade Ryzhov (A. I.) at the respective command posts. At the same time the combat sector of the 18th Army shall be transferred to the commanding officer of the 46th Army.

*As in the text. The 4th, 5th, and 6th gv. SBr were transferred from the 56th Army while the 8th gv. SBr from the 47th Army.

The left boundary line of the 46th Army shall be: (except for) Suzdal'skaya, Shendzhiy, (excluding) L'vovskaya, and Troitskaya.

7. The infantry divisions and reinforcements transferred from the 18th A to the 56th A shall be used along the main direction of the army.

The army's assignment shall be in accordance with the directive of the commander of the Black Sea Group of Forces, approved by me.

8. The concentration of units assigned to the 18th Landing Army shall be according to the specific combat orders of SKF headquarters dated 11 February 1943.

9. Vice-Admiral Comrade Oktyabr'skiy (F. S.), commander of the Black Sea Fleet, shall insure the transfer of units and formations of the 18th Landing Army within the period and in the areas indicated by the commanding officer of the 18th Landing Army.

10. These confirm and report execution.

Commanding officer of the forces of the North Caucasian Front Colonel General Maslennikov

Member of the Military Council of the North Caucasian Front Major General Fominykh

Chief of Staff Major General Zabaluyev

Original

USSR TsAMO, Archive 224, List 932, File 205, Sheets 61-63.

Document No 3

Address of the Military Council of the 18th Army

18 April 1943

Comrade Soldiers, Commanders, and Political Workers, Heroic Defenders of Malaya Zemlya!

After suffering an irreparable defeat at Stalingrad and the Northern Caucasus, thrown back to the Tananskiy Peninsula, like an overstepped gambler the enemy is staking everything on a single card. He is trying to hold back the advance of the Red Army. The German-fascist gang of murderers and plunderers is trying to hold Novorossiysk at the cost of huge casualties. The heroic landing on Myskhako is really threatening this enemy stronghold on the pit of Kuban' soil still in his hands.

Malaya Zemlya is a mortal knife stuck in the back of a cowardly enemy. It is no accident that the enemy has hurled himself on you so fiercely, in an effort to break your will and disturb your combat order.

The enemy erred. For the past several days you have been successfully defeating the enemy's pressure. Loyal sons of our homeland, you are the perpetrators of the heroic traditions of the defenders of Stalingrad. Neither the exploding aircraft bombs, the shells, mines, tanks, or attacks by enraged bandits collected from the entire Tananskiy Peninsula have shaken up your firmness or confused your ranks. As fighting sailors you are firmly protecting the traditions of the heroic defenders of Sebastopol.

Battle Comrades! Infantrymen, seamen, artillerymen, anti-aircraft men, mortar men, machine gunners, and engineers! You have displayed models of courage and heroism against which all attacks mounted by the fascist bandits will fail. The troops of the units commanded by Perekerostov (G. N.)* and Gordeyev (D. V.)** have covered themselves with unfading glory. Courage and bravery distinguish the troops of the Red Banner Unit commanded by Comrade Bushev (S. M.).***

The military council is proud of your exploits as firm defenders of Malaya Zemlya of our great socialist homeland and I am confident that this line of defense will continue to remain inaccessible to the enemy. You have reconquered this land and are firmly holding it in your hands. Your defense, courage, and heroism is the pride of your fathers, mothers, wives, and children. We know that this small piece of land will become big and liberate our people moaning under the fascist yoke--fathers, mothers, wives, and children.

The army's military council proclaims to all troops, commanders, and political workers of the units commanded by Major Generals Perekrestov and Gordeyev, from the group of forces commanded by Major General Grechkin.**** Thanks for their firmness and courage displayed in the struggle against the enemy. Major General Comrade Grechkin will submit to the military council the names of all Red Army men, commanders, and political workers distinguished in combat for governmental awards.

Comrade infantrymen, red navy men, artillerymen, anti-aircraft men, mortar men, machine gunners, and engineers, stand firmly on your lines, and destroy firmly and mercilessly the enemy's manpower, destroy and crush his equipment. Improve your defense. Use ammunition thriftily and carefully. Send every bullet into the enemy's heart! Every shell must hit his fortifications and attack lines! Organize the interaction among all arms and weapons. Victory lies in the joint struggle! Counterattack the enemy decisively and boldly. The enemy will not withstand the power of your crushing strike!

*Commanding officer 16th Infantry Corps

**Commanding officer 20th Infantry Corps

***Commanding officer 176th Infantry Division

****Commanding officer landing group of forces of the 18th Army

Battle comrades! Major matters are being decided on Malaya Zemlya for the liberation of our homeland from the German-fascist aggressors. The left flank of the front of the Great Patriotic War is and will remain the inaccessible fortress against which all enemy attempts will fail.

The military council expresses its confidence that wherever you are fighting the enemy will not pass. Wherever you counter-attack the enemy will not resist! Strike at the enemy harder!

Long live the heroic defenders of Malaya Zemlya!

Long live our great homeland!

Death to the German aggressors!

The Army Military Council

Original with L. I. Brezhnev's official stamp

USSR TsAMO, Archive 371, List 6,386, File 102, Sheets 78-79.

Document No 4

From the Report of the Political Department of the 18th Army
on the Results of the Heroic Defense of Malaya Zemlya
From 17 to 25 April 1943

2 May 1943

To Major General Yemel'yanov (S. S.), chief of the political administration
of the North Caucasian Front

1. On the failure of the German offensive on Myskhako

On 17 April 1943 the enemy launched a counter-attack on Malaya Zemlya defended by our units. The battle lasted night and day for five days and in terms of scope and fire power saturation was an exceptionally fierce nature. Veterans of battles at Kerch, and Sebastopol state that the density of the fire at Myskhako was several hundred percent higher, for this piece of defended land is small and was fired at and fully covered by enemy aviation.

In five days of combat the participants in the defense of Malaya Zemlya had to withstand maximal stress and were able to hold the fierce attacks of superior enemy forces and deal the enemy huge losses in manpower and equipment.

Ratio of forces

Enemy: Facing our units operating in Myskhako, at the beginning of the offensive the enemy forces were the following:

73rd Infantry Division

125th Infantry Division

4th Mounted Infantry Division

10th Satellite Infantry Division

101st Mountain Infantry Division*

All in all, the infantry formations numbered over 26,600 field troops. The German Infantry was supported by a tremendous number of bombers and diving and fighter aircraft (400 units), tanks (up to 30 units) and the following number of artillery and mortar units: The Gobel Shock Artillery Group operated along the main line, consisting of two division artillery regiments; four artillery reinforcement battalions and one assault guns battalion. Furthermore, the enemy attack units were supported by four artillery regiments and eight artillery battalions of different calibres.

Therefore, the Hitlerites threw against our units over 20,000 active troops, 6 artillery regiments, 20 artillery battalions, and as many as 30 tanks and 400 aircraft.

All this enabled the enemy to maintain such a dense fire that it was difficult to find a bit of earth not covered by shells, mines, and bombs.

Hoping to throw our units into the sea in two to three days and deprive us of an advantageous bridgehead, the enemy had made thorough preparations for this operation. He had amassed a tremendous quantity of ammunition for all types of weapons. He had at his disposal invulnerable access roads. He enjoyed a tactical advantage in the use of the topography itself. Our forces: On the day of the German offensive against Malaya Zemlya we had the 255th KBMP,¹⁷ 165th SBr, 176th SD, the 8th Guards Infantry Brigade, the 51st SBr, and the 107th SBr. The reserve of the landing group command consisted of the 83rd KBMP,¹⁸ which was deployed in a second echelon behind the 8th Guards and 51st Brigades. The formations were small and each infantry battalion averaged 100 to 120 fighting troops.

Our infantry units were supported by artillery consisting of one artillery regiment and 12 battalions operating directly in Myskhako. In the first three days of combat we had almost no aviation and German airplanes were constantly in the air in massed groups. The enemy bombed Myskhako, land and sea communications, and fire positions along the entire army front. All this

*The report further lists units included within these enemy divisions.

considerably hindered our fire power. Furthermore, we suffered severe losses. In the first day of the offensive, for example, in the army sector the enemy destroyed 21 of mainly heavy calibre guns.

Let us add to all this that ammunition stocks on Myskhako were extremely limited because of supply difficulties. Suffice it to say that on the very second day of the battle the anti-aircraft artillery was unable to fire to the required extent due to lack of shells.

The tactical advantages of the area were also on the enemy's side. Whereas the enemy had free communications, the possibility to engage in secret maneuvers, and perfect communications with food and ammunition bases, we had no such possibilities.

The entire bit of the defended Malaya Zemlya is up to five-six kilometers deep and covers an area of 30-35 square kilometers.

On the right flank of the sector the land is entirely flat and the entire sector was well covered by enemy fire. We had no roadways for bringing supplies and evacuating the wounded other than by sea. Furthermore, the enemy had mined the waters and created additional difficulties for us. From 17 to 23 April the enemy sank three of our vessels carrying supplies and ammunition while two transports were destroyed by artillery fire.

The shore of the defended area is steep and inconvenient for unloading. Furthermore, it was so heavily fired upon by the enemy that the approach of big ships to the pier was totally excluded. Freight and men had to move at night from the ships to small vessels in the open sea and under constant artillery and mortar fire and aircraft bombing and landed ashore. Naturally, under such conditions unloading in the desired amounts was very difficult and caused casualties. Quite frequently it happened that during the night the ships were unable to unload and had to go back with their cargo without being able to take aboard ship even a single wounded. A severe storm at sea would totally stop the traffic and, therefore, supplies.

As the ratio (of forces) of the sides shows, the enemy enjoyed considerable numerical superiority in equipment and manpower, as well as tactical topographic advantages and the possibility to maneuver and bring supplies.

Our forces lacked all this. However, they were able to reduce to naught all enemy advantages, holding back his fierce attacks and dealing the enemy severe losses in equipment and manpower.

Interrogation of prisoners of war and intercepted borders of the fascist command revealed that the enemy hoped to breach our defenses through numerical superiority and materiel and sudden strikes against a single narrow sector, divide our forces into two parts, and hurl them into the sea. He planned to complete this operation in two to three days, destroy our landing units, and relieve forces for offensive operations along another sector of the North Caucasian Front.

At 1930 hours, on 17 April 1943, the enemy undertook artillery preparations on the sector held by the 8th Guards and 51st and 107th Brigades. In the course of one and a half hours the enemy fired about 2,000 shells and mines on the front line and rear of these brigades. Meanwhile German aviation took to the skies. Methodically the airplanes appeared in groups of 30 to 70 units, hurling their bombs on the front line and rear of these brigades. A thick cloud of smoke and dust hung on this bit of defended land. The raids continued without interruption the entire day while at night night bombers began their operations. In the course of the first day of the offensive the enemy made about 2,000 sorties and, according to rough estimates, dropped on Malaya Zemlya as many as 6,000 different calibre bombs.

Under the cover of powerful artillery and aviation fire, on 17 April at 0900 hours, the enemy mounted a counter-attack, supported by several tanks, on the sector defended by the forces of the 4th GSD¹⁹ held by the 107th and 51st Brigades. Drunken officers and soldiers marched upright, not expecting any serious resistance and assuming that after such powerful preparations our defense would be totally disorganized.

However, the enemy was wrong. Letting the fascists reach the front line of defense, troops and commanders opened hurricane fire with all types of weapons. The enemy stopped and, after some confusion, turned back, leaving on the battlefield a large number of dead and three burning tanks.

The attacks were repeated one after another. However, they brought the fascists nothing but huge casualties. Then the enemy artillery resumed its work, firing at the front end, and the aviation intensified its raids. However, this yielded almost no results whatever.

In the course of their defensive operations, our people worked well, solidly entrenching themselves, for which reason they did not suffer any particular losses. Suffice it to say that in the sector defended by the 165th SBr, in the course of 6 hours the enemy engaged in powerful artillery shelling, steadily bombing the brigade from the air, without causing a single casualty.

At 1000 hours, supported by 7 tanks and using as many as two infantry regiments, the enemy mounted an offensive on the sector held by the 8th Guards Infantry Brigade. Here again, however, he was unable to achieve any success. The guardsmen welcomed him with a shower of fire and hurled him back to his initial positions.

By 1200 hours the enemy had launched as many as 10 attacks unsuccessfully.

Following the unsuccessful attacks which had caused the enemy heavy casualties, the fascists transferred their entire fire power to the depression between the 8th Guards and 51st Brigades. This depression leads to Myskhako from which one could observe and fire at the entire area. Bearing in mind the great tactical importance of this mount, the Hitlerites decided to reach and capture it at all cost. They expected to achieve this as follows:

- a. By dividing our forces;
- b. By depriving us of the last possibilities to use communications by sea;
- c. To reach the sea and, perhaps, the rear lines of many of our units.

The main strike was launched against the fourth battalion of the 51st Brigade. It defended itself to the last man. By 1200 hours the battalion had lost as a result of enemy fire up to 70 percent of its manpower. At 1300 hours the enemy launched an offensive on this sector.

From the remaining troops and commanders, battalion commander Captain Zhidikin (G. P.) organized a group and assumed perimeter defensive positions. At 1400 hours the enemy bypassed the group of brave soldiers on the right flank and separated it from headquarters. The handful of our brave troops fought for three hours, surrounded on all sides by the enemy and died to the last man.

The enemy pursued his offensive. Brigade chief of staff Major Prudnik (V. G.) and fourth battalion deputy commander for political affairs Senior Lieutenant Khvichiya (A. P.) organized perimeter defense. Every single person grabbed rifles and automatic weapons: Commanders, clerks, and orderlies. They totalled 25 men who held back for six hours fierce attacks by superior enemy forces.

That is how the Fourth Infantry Battalion of the 51st Infantry Brigade was eliminated almost entirely. Casualties included 13 middle rank commanders, 7 of them company deputy commanders for political affairs, and 72 troops and junior commanders. Battalion commander Captain Zhidikin was killed as well. The almost entire battalion equipment was destroyed by the enemy's fire.

After crushing the resistance of the Fourth Infantry Battalion, the enemy wedged itself between the 51st and 8th Guards Brigades reaching a depth of up to 800 meters. However, he was stopped by our artillery fire.

The 305th Battalion of the 83rd Red Banner Marine Infantry Brigade were sent to destroy the breach group. At 1200 hours, on 18 April, the battalion moved ahead. Meanwhile the enemy aviation launched its raid. The battalion immediately lost 80 men. However, this did not dampen the combat spirit of the remaining red navy men. They joined the battle straight from their march and, surrounding a German company, destroyed it in its entirety. However, they were not able to regain in full the lost positions. The enemy was able to move fire power and dig in and was now conducting dense fire on the attackers.

This was the only sector where the enemy was able to achieve some progress at the cost of tremendous casualties. He was able to achieve this by totally destroying the Fourth Battalion of the 51st Brigade. Marching across the bodies of our men the fascists hurled themselves along the depression without encountering strong resistance.

On the remaining sectors the enemy launched 5 to 10 attacks daily, mounted "psychological" attacks and tried to undermine the spirit of our people with wailing sirens. Nowhere was he successful, however. Everywhere the enemy met with a wall of our fire and, losing hundreds of soldiers and officers, retreated.

In the first three days our troops totally lacked air support. The enemy undisputedly dominated the air which depressed our people somewhat. After each concentrated Hitlerite raid many troops asked: "Where is our aviation? Why are our airplanes not showing up?"

The political workers had to work among our troops explaining that our airplanes were operating at other sectors.

On 20 April, starting with 1000 hours, 100 of our aircraft appeared simultaneously in the air. Seeing this force, troops and commanders experienced undescribably enthusiasm. The people laughed, shrieked, whistled, threw their helmets in the air and embraced each other. Some were crying from happiness.

The appearance of our aviation threw the fascists in a state of confusion. They did not expect that our command would hurl against them such a mass of aircraft. Their anti-aircraft artillery was equally unprepared to repel massed raids. Its fire was sporadic and the accuracy and concentration of the fire was lowered even further after several raids. Many anti-aircraft guns were silenced with the first bombing.

After the first raid by our aviation, the troops and commanders of the 8th Guards Infantry Brigade and the 107th, 51st, 255th, and 165th Brigades counter-attacked and in some sectors hurled the enemy back.

The following moment is of particular interest. It was necessary to determine the front line of the enemy who had breached the area at the junction between the 8th Guards and 51st SBr so that our aviation could bomb it. The objective was achieved as follows: Hundreds of Red Army men took off their underwear and spread it along their front line. Using this "appendicitus" type reference mark, our airplanes dived and accurately bombed the enemy battle order. Meanwhile the soldiers shouted "Good! Well done! Give them more, give them more!"

Our aviation operated without interruption until 23 April. It raised the spirit of fighters and commanders, demoralized the enemy, and caused him severe losses. The aviation helped our units to repel attacks launched by superior enemy forces.

2. Political support of the battle.

The political organs played a tremendous role in the course of the defensive combats. Hundreds of political workers of all levels, secretaries of party bureaus, and the numerous army of agitators and communist and Komsomol members were in the battle units throughout this time, calling and leading

with words and personal examples the remaining personnel. Tens of the best sons of the party and the Komsomol died the death of the brave those days. However, they gained unfading glory, triggering a sacred vengeance and even greater hatred for the German fascist throat cutters.

In the course of the five-day combats the political organs of the army proved their maturity, combat capability, and ability in most difficult conditions to lead the masses and insure the strict implementation of superior orders. The five-day combat operations were a training school for many political workers, enriching them with new battle experience, teaching them how to act operatively, boldly, and in accordance with developed circumstances, in a complex and dangerous environment.

Together with the Troop Masses and Commanders

From the very beginning of the combat operations the army political department assigned to Malaya Zemlya a group of Poarm²⁰ workers headed by Lieutenant Colonel Comrade Mutitsyn (I. Ya.), chief of the instruction organization department. The group was assigned the task of providing the party and political organs practical aid in promoting political work in all units and subunits, help to organize material supplies to troops and commanders, take measures for the organization of efficient hospital and medical-sanitary company work, and insure the prompt evacuation of the wounded.

Furthermore, the group was also assigned the task of informing on a daily basis the Poarm on the state of political support of the battle, formulate questions related to the needs and requirements of the units, and help the political organs on the spot to resolve the problems which arose in the course of battle.

A total of 50 men from the Poarm reserve were sent to Malaya Zemlya to replace casualties among political workers.

On the first day of the Hitlerite offensive most of the personnel of the political departments of the large units were assigned to the units. The order was to bring the party political apparatus closer to the bulk of operating units and be part of the battle order of our defense. Studying the operative circumstances on Malaya Zemlya the Poarm representatives dispersed among the units with the following assignments:

- a. Check the deployment of party members by subunit;
- b. The guidance provided by party organizers and agitators;
- c. The type of political work conducted among the troops;
- d. The organization of the feeding of front line personnel;
- e. The condition of the work on the evacuation of the wounded.

The main task of the Poarm workers was to give the party political organs practical assistance on the spot.

The following personnel were assigned to the units with these tasks: Poarm inspector Major Comrade Matyushenko (D. I.), Poarm instructor Senior Lieutenant Comrade Khaylov (I. P.), and several men from the political personnel reserve. Lieutenant Colonel Comrade Mutitsyn as well was assigned to one of the large units. Subsequently, the Poarm personnel were in the large units at all times, moving from one unit to another, correcting shortcomings, returning only late at night to sum up the results of their work and report to the landing group command the need for the adoption of one or another measure for the elimination of shortcomings.

In the course of the battles on Malaya Zemlya, in addition to practical assistance given the party political organs, questions were raised regarding reinforcements, additional weapons, medicines for the wounded, increasing the number of small tonnage ships, availability of medals, and others. Most of these problems were resolved promptly and completely. The Myskhako defenders were given about two regiments of reinforcements, a large quantity of portable and heavy machine guns, a considerable share of the medicines, and 1,000 medals for presentation.

Let us note that in the days of repelling fierce enemy attacks, the political departments worked well and coped with their assignments successfully.

Particularly efficient work was done by the political department of the 20th DSK.²¹ Political department chief Colonel Comrade Ryzhov (A. I.) was well informed at all times on the operations of all large units. He frequently visited units, rapidly correcting shortcomings in party political work. The entire apparatus of the corps' political department was in the battle formations of our defending troops, helping the organization of party political work on the spot.

During the battles many political department workers proved themselves to be good organizers who were able to lead through words and individual example the troops in the mortal battle against the German-fascist aggressors.

On 18 April Lieutenant Comrade Molchanov (I. I.), political department instructor at the 51st SBr, was in the 3rd Battalion. That day enemy aviation raided the defense sector and bombed it heavily. The dust had not yet settled and the smoke of the explosions had not dispersed when the Hitlerites mounted an attack with superior forces. The situation was extremely tense. It seemed that in another minute the battalion would falter and yield. "Death to the vermin!" Molchanov shouted and hurled a hand grenade at the enemy. The enemy attack failed in the face of the condensed fire by the troops. At that point Captain Osadchiy (F. K.), 3rd Battalion deputy commander for political affairs, fell heavily wounded. Comrade Molchanov replaced Osadchiy and throughout the battle displayed great efficiency, daring, and knowledge.

Here is another case. Enemy submachine gunners infiltrated in depth the defense lines of the 8th Guards Infantry Brigade and cut off 6th Company from the 2nd Guards Infantry Battalion. Brave people were needed to go behind enemy lines, reconnoiter, and break the encirclement. This difficult role was assumed by Senior Lieutenant Belozerskiy (N. A.), member of the brigade's political department. Together with five scouts he crossed unnoticed the enemy front lines and located the company. The arrival of Comrade Belozerskiy with five scouts greatly raised the spirit of the company's personnel. Using the laid out path, master sergeants supplied food to the subunit and communications were established with the battalion's command. Subsequently, the company's troops and commanders fought like lions and caused severe casualties to the enemy.

A number of such cases could be cited. Throughout the entire battle the political departments of the large units skillfully performed their role as centers for political work.

Individual and Group Talks--the Most Acceptable Agitation Method in Combat

In the course of the five days of combat the possibility to hold during the day any kind of a gathering, mass meeting, or even group talk with the troops was totally excluded. The ceaseless rumbling on the entire cape was so loud that it was difficult to hear one another even at a small distance. One had literally to shout. The only possible form of verbal political work--individual talks--had to be used. Company deputy commanders for political affairs, party bureau secretaries, and party organizers crawled or ran along communication trenches, from one trench to another, and talked with the troops. The content of the talks as well was of a specific combat nature. The talk consisted of short remarks, proper answers, and dissemination of news such as, for example, the fact that the neighboring squad had destroyed an entire company, the agitator would report. "We too have killed as many," would answer the soldier and go on firing at the enemy.

Frequently, after such a brief talk, the agitator or party organizer had to grab his rifle and repel enemy attacks. Whenever the circumstances became particularly tense he would hurl himself in a counter-attack, shooting or hurling hand grenades.

On 18 April Comrade Sazanov (A. I.), party organization secretary of the 3rd Company, 144th Battalion, 83rd Red Banner Navy Infantry Brigade was in one of the trenches describing to the troops the battle results of the first half of the day. At that moment the enemy opposite the sector held by the company attacked with superior forces. Without losing a minute Sazanov stood up and shouted: "For the Bolshevik Party, comrades, follow me!"

Inspired by the fiery call of the secretary, the troops hurled themselves at the enemy and repulsed him. With his submachine gun and hand grenades, Comrade Sazanov personally destroyed 15 Hitlerites in this engagement.

When the Germans retreated Sazanov continued his talk mentioning the losses suffered by the Germans in the immediately preceding battle. This kind of talk was clear and convincing, taking a short time, held at the very time of the fighting.

Extensive individual work was done during combat by Guards Lieutenant Comrade Parsukov (P. V.), deputy commander for political affairs of a machine gun company (4th Infantry Battalion, 8th Guards Infantry Brigade). During the day he constantly went from one to another crew, cheering up the soldiers, telling them of the successes achieved by the battalion, describing enemy losses and tricks. The enemy mounted an attack against a machine gun nest, in an effort to destroy it. The situation was threatening. Then Parsukov shouted: "The Guards will not retreat!" and hurled a pair of hand grenades at the enemy. Several fascists were killed while the remainder retreated to their starting positions. Parsukov himself was heavily wounded. However, he did not abandon the battlefield, continuing to encourage the troops, raising their spirits with his personal example of courage.

At night, when the fighting abated somewhat, the subunits took their meals. It was within that time that particularly extensive political work was done: Group talks, party, Komsomol, and Red Army meetings, results of the day of combat were summed up, and new assignments were issued.

On 18 April talks on the subject of "the battle circumstances and the task of the subunit" were held in all subunits of the 83rd Red Banner Marine Infantry Brigade. The talks were given by the commanders of subunits and units, their deputies for political affairs, party commission and party bureau secretaries, and political department personnel. The marines swore sacredly to uphold the combat traditions of the Black Sea men and fight the enemy to their last breath.

Every day the results of the battle were summed up at the 8th Guards Infantry Brigade. The names of the most distinguished guardsmen were announced at Red Army talks and orders citing distinguished troops and commanders were read. On 19 April talks on the topic of "Not a Step Backward" were held in nearly all units operating at Myskhako. Practical experience proved that in the course of daytime combat individual talks were the only acceptable form of verbal agitation. After such talks, together with the agitators, the troops hurled themselves into battle and caused the enemy severe damages. Group talks were necessary at night. After each battle the soldiers were tired and needed rest, for which reason we tried to hold short talks on the most vital problems affecting the Red Army men. Here are several of the topics:

1. Staunchness in battle is a guarantee for victory.
2. What is the enemy's aim?
3. Fight to death.

4. Glory to the heroes.
5. Fight the enemy like guardsmen.
6. Fight the enemy like Red navy men.
7. We shall stand our grounds, the enemy will not pass.
8. Our heroes.

All these talks were based on local events for which reason they were listened to with great interest.

Slogans as a Mobilizing Tool

In the course of the combat operations the party political organs paid great attention to combat slogans, using them as a means for mobilizing troops and commanders for upgrading their vigilance and intensifying their strikes against the enemy.

Lieutenant Colonel Shtakhanovskiy (P. A.), deputy commander for political affairs of the 16th SK, launched the following slogan: "Let Us Turn Malaya Zemlya into a Big Grave for the Enemy!" The slogan rapidly spread throughout the units.

Occasionally slogans were born within the troops themselves. Slogans such as "Let Us Make Malaya Zemlya [Small Land] a Big Land!", "Defend Myskhako--the Left Most Flank of the Patriotic War Front!", and others came from the very thick of the masses. The guardsmen of the 8th Guards Infantry Brigade fought with the slogan of "Wherever We are Defending Ourselves the Enemy Will Not Pass and Wherever We Advance the Enemy Will Not Resist!"

Slogans were disseminated in a great variety of ways: In the course of group talks, meetings, battle leaflets, and others. The 165th SBr invented the most interesting and acceptable method for their dissemination among the troops during combat. Here slogans were chain passed by the troops. The deputy commander of the right flank company would pass on to the outer most soldier "Each Bullet in a Fascist Head!" or "Let Us Celebrate May Day with the Defeat of the Hitlerites!" This was passed on from mouth to mouth, along the entire defense front of the brigade, to the left most soldier.

The Power of Personal Example

The heroic behavior in combat displayed by commanders, political workers, and party and Komsomol members was the most powerful means for the mobilization of the personnel. It was precisely they who inspired the troops through their personal examples, raising their spirits and leading them in counter-attacking the attacking enemy. An innumerable number of cases of daring, firmness, decisiveness, and boundless loyalty to the homeland displayed by commanders and party members could be found in each large unit.

The enemy was bombing from the air the firing line held by the mortar battalion of the 165th SBr. The troops were hiding in dugouts and slit trenches. One of the mortars was in the bombed area and had to be rescued. This assignment was undertaken by candidate party member Senior Sergeant Comrade Savolenko (V. T.). Together with his detail, under the thunder of the falling bombs, he carried the mortar into the dugout. The shells remained on the firing line. Meanwhile, a bomb exploded in the immediate vicinity and set the parapet on fire. A group of daredevils, led by communist Savolenko, extracted literally from the fire the fuses and shells, thus preventing their explosion.

Many commanders and rank and file party members are sacrificing themselves for the sake of victory.

Senior Sergeant Duzhenko (A. P.), reconnaissance platoon commander, 490th iptap, accomplished an unparalleled feat. Delivering a combat report to regimental headquarters, he found himself surrounded by German submachine gunners. He was severely hit by an enemy bullet. Fearing that the enemy would capture him with his combat report, Comrade Duzhenko blew himself up with a hand grenade.

Guards Junior Sergeant party member Yudenko Valentin Pavlovich and Guards Red Army man Novikov Ivan Georgiyevich covered themselves with immortal glory. Both of them were firing their submachine guns. On their right our heavy machine gun was firing at the enemy. An enemy shell destroyed the entire machine gun crew. Yudenko and Novikov hurled themselves to the machine gun and resumed firing. Once again the enemy was forced to lie down. Several times they tried to rise to the attack but fell back meeting the dense fire. According to incomplete data Novikov and Yudenko killed as many as 75 Hitlerites.

Enraged, the Germans launched simultaneously three tanks against the machine gun nest. The heroes fired at the steel monsters to their last breath and both of them died crushed by the tanks. The command submitted the names of the heroes for posthumous decoration with the order of the Red Banner.*

At all times the party members were in the front ranks and were moved to the most important and dangerous battle sectors. The party organizations demanded of the members firmness, daring, and a vanguard role in combat.

The bold and firm behavior of commanders and party members on the battlefield inspired the entire personnel. The people fought without sparing their lives, for which reason they repulsed all enemy attacks and stood firm in the face of the malicious enemy.

*By order No 0306-n of 17 May 1943 of the commanding officer of the 18th Army I. G. Novikov and V. P. Yudenko were awarded posthumously the Order of the Red Banner.

Appeal of the Army's Military Council to the Malaya Zemlya Defenders

On 18 April the army political department drafted an appeal of the military council to the heroic defenders of Malaya Zemlya. The military council expressed its confidence in the firmness of the personnel and called upon troops, commanders, and political workers not to yield a single bit of land to the enemy, to crush the enemy manpower and equipment, and to fight to the death. The military council expressed its confidence that the offensive of the German-fascist forces would fail.

The appeal of the army military council reached Malaya Zemlya in the very heat of battle and played a tremendous role in uplifting the battle spirit of the personnel.

The party political organs launched extensive work based on the appeal. At night talks and meetings were held in the subunits at which the appeal was read. Hundreds of troops, commanders, and political workers swore that the enemy would die at the front end of our defense lines and would pay for his offensive with his blood.

Tens of letters, resolutions, and decrees in which troops and commanders guaranteed that the enemy will not pass were sent to the army military council.

The personnel of the 51st Infantry Brigade sent a letter adopted at Red Army meetings, stating the following:

"We, the troops, commanders, and political workers of the 51st Separate Infantry Brigade read your appeal to us in which you awarded us the honored title of Heroic Defenders of Malaya Zemlya with a feeling of pride and great gratitude. The news of your appeal rapidly spread among all brigade subunits in the days of intensive battles. Agitators and political workers, and the best people of the subunits went from dugout to dugout, and from trench to trench reading and explaining several times the military council appeal. This appeal reached the depth of our souls, expressing our feelings and desires--to defeat the enemy pressure, defend Malaya Zemlya and, following the path littered with fascist corpses, join the troops and commanders of the 'Big Land' . . ."

The appeal of the army military council provided a new powerful impetus in repelling the attacks of the enemy hordes and dealing the enemy crushing blows.*

*For the full text of the appeal see document no 3.

The Mass Herois of our People

The entire political work done during the battle made possible to rally the personnel around their commanders and political workers, cement the battle ranks of the Red Army men, and make the defense impenetrable by the enemy. Hundreds of troops and commanders, following the example of party and Komsomol members, covered themselves with unfading glory, displaying on the battlefield models of courage, heroism, great will power, and physical endurance. The Red Navy men fought with particular bravery.

On four occasions two fascist battalions, supported by five tanks, and tens of bombers attacked the positions of the battalion commanded by Captain Gryaznov (S. S.) (255th KBMP). The seamen destroyed the enemy lines at the very approaches. Mountains of enemy corpses rose in front of the seamen's positions. Here 150 Hitlerites died.

The Germans hurled against the sector defended by the squad commanded by Lieutenant Larikov (Ye. G.) (83rd KBMP) up to one infantry battalion and 11 tanks. At the very approaches navy submachine and machine gunners forced the enemy to retreat. Red Navy men Solyanoy (Ya. A.) and Goryainov (A. P.) set two tanks afire with anti-tank weapons.

During a heated encounter Senior Red Navy man Drachev (N. M.) from the 142nd Battalion, 255th KBMP, took over from the squad commander who was hit. On four subsequent separate occasions the Germans mounted attacks but were repulsed. On the fifth time, when the Hitlerites tried to attack the brave troops, Drachev stood up and shouted, "For Our Novorossiysk!" He hurled himself forward and the soldiers followed him like one. They fought the Germans with bayonets and rifle butts. Drachev himself killed 15 Hitlerites in this battle. The Germans retreated quickly.

After a bombing raid the machine gun handled by Junior Sergeant Kochergin (N. P.) of the same battalion was buried under fallen wreckage. Kochergin himself made his way out of the wreckage, dug out the machine gun and, ignoring artillery and mortar fire, began to fire point blank at the advancing Hitlerites. He noted that the enemy had wedged himself in the defenses of his left side neighbor. "You will not pass," he said and took the machine gun to an open position. With flanking fire he forced the Germans to turn back leaving tens of corpses on the battlefield.

Under heavy fire Petty Officer First Class Godun (G. D.), from the 142nd Battalion, 255th MSBr, moved forward and destroyed an enemy machine gun crew with a hand grenade. Together with two other soldiers Godun crawled to the machine gun and captured it. Going back, Godun saw a fascist in the slit trench. He was lying with his eyes to the ground, without budging, a frightened man wearing a PT-jacket. Godun approached him, grabbed him by the scruff of the neck, and made him walk ahead of him. The battalion received information.

A group of seamen of the 305th Battalion, 83rd KBMP, headed by Senior Sergeant Romanets (I. Ya.) was storming an enemy pillbox. Romanets closed in, threw hand grenades while his soldiers immediately rushed inside and engaged the remaining Hitlerites in hand to hand combat. The sergeant himself rushed into the pillbox at the moment of the uneven combat. Two seamen were fighting nine fascists. The Hitlerites were preparing to strangle them. Romanets hurled himself in. "Stand from under!" he shouted, throwing a smoke bomb [limonka] at the group of soldiers. Smoke and dust covered everything and the enemy became confused. Romanets used the opportunity to kill three Germans. The seaman himself was severely wounded. He fell on the pile of fascist corpses breathing heavily. Meanwhile a group of our soldiers jumped into the pillbox and finished off the remaining Hitlerites. Seeing his friends, Romanets said, "Seamen, do not yield the recaptured land."

The guardsmen and all other Malaya Zemlya defenders fought with exceptional bravery. The friendship among the peoples of all nationalities was vividly manifested in the course of the battles. Shoulder to shoulder with the Russians were Ukrainians, Belorussians, Georgians, Armenians, Uzbeks, Tatars, and members of other nationalities. They all defended their single Soviet homeland and everyone displayed courage and heroism.

Senior Sergeant Avzalov Khuday Nazarvovich (a Tadzhik), commander of a 76 millimeter gun, and gun-layer Senior Sergeant Adzhikuliyeu (M. Sh.) (Azerbaijani) displayed great willpower, self-control, and high combat skill in fighting German tanks. Regardless of air bombings, they fired point blank at fascist tanks, blocking the path of advancing German infantry. In a single day of combat, on 19 April, they destroyed two enemy tanks, three observation points, and as much as one Hitlerite company.

With machine gun fire Junior Sergeant Abdulganeyev from 1st Company 219th Infantry NKVD²² scattered a group of fascists, thus enabling our subunits to move forward. Wounded, he assumed an open position and with his machine gun fire killed as many as 10 Hitlerites.

The political and moral condition of troops and commanders was healthy and militant. Suffice it to say that from 17 to 23 April no single particular incident occurred in the units operating in Myskhako.

The Best People in the Bolshevik Party

The high political and moral condition of the personnel was also reflected in the fact that the best people of large units and units expressed the desire to be party members, and to fight the enemy like Bolsheviks. In the most intensive days of combat tens of petitions were submitted to the party bureaus by troops and commanders requesting membership in the VKP(b). Between 15 and 25 April 207 petitions were submitted to the party by units of the 16th SK; between 17 and 25 April 215 petitions were submitted in the units of the 20th DSK.

The best people who have proven themselves on the battlefield are joining the party.

In his petition on the eve of battle Red Army man Comrade Ozernov (F. P.) from the 1st Company, 51st SBr, wrote: "The enemy will not reach my machine gun as long as I live. I request to be accepted as member of the Bolshevik Party. I will justify the high title of communist through my actions."

In the battles from 17 to 24 April Comrade Ozernov destroyed 90 fascists and two enemy light machine guns with his heavy machine gun.

Before joining the battle Red Navy man Comrade Gordeyev (S. S.), from the 14th Battalion, 255th BRMP, submitted a petition which read as follows: "If I die consider me a party member. I am going into battle with a feeling of duty to the party."

In the heated days of heavy combat many party commissions spent their entire time in battalions and companies, accepting as party members people who had most distinguished themselves. Particularly good work was done by Captain Comrade Vorob'yev (I. K.), party commission secretary of the 165th SBr. Throughout this entire time he literally did not leave the unit. He held several party committee sessions on party membership on the very front end of the defense lines.

3. Material Support of the Malaya Zemlya Defenders.

In the course of the defensive battles tremendous work was done to organize the feeding of the personnel and procuring for it all kinds of supplies. Throughout the combat operations in most units every soldier and commander was fed a hot meal twice daily. Dry rations were issued during the day. As a rule, the food was cooked and consumed at night, for there was absolutely no possibility to do so daytime. Dinner began at 9-10 pm while breakfast was consumed at early dawn. The supply of food to the subunits and of hot meals to the troops involved great difficulties and required good organization. The Poarm and the party political organs of large units paid great attention to the feeding of the personnel. This was a daily concern.

Supplying food from Gelendzhik to Malaya Zemlya was particularly difficult. As I already mentioned the enemy did everything possible to disrupt food transportation or, in any case, to hinder the full delivery of supplies. To this purpose he mined the waters, fired at our transports from torpedo boats, bombed and fired at moorings, and torpedoed ships with submarines. On 17, 18, and 22 April it became so difficult to haul food to Malaya Zemlya that all our transports had to turn back without landing ashore a single kilogram of food. Frequently only part of the foodstuffs could be unloaded, requiring a return trip.

4. Evacuation of the Wounded

The evacuation of the wounded was conducted satisfactorily. The personnel of the medical-sanitary service displayed high level organization in combat, discipline, and courage. They showed their great concern for the people. The medics acted particularly bravely. Under enemy fire they carried the wounded out, gave them first aid and, if so required by the circumstances, fought the enemy with their weapons.

Nurse Comrade Zaytseva Zinaidi Fedorovna, from the 83rd KBMP, born in 1925, Komsomol member, gave medical aid to troops and commanders directly on the battlefield. Under enemy fire she personally removed 12 people with their weapons.

In a single day of battle Comrade Tyazhelkov Vasiliy, medical instructor at the 8th Guards Infantry Brigade, carried out under enemy fire 30 wounded with their weapons. During an enemy attack he joined the battle and killed six Hitlerites.

Many such cases could be cited. The wounded were removed from the battlefield on time, given first aid in the medical companies and then sent to the 5,199th Hospital or 128th Evacuation Center. The wounded were transported and cared for under continuous artillery and mortar fire and bombing raids. In the course of the five-day defense battles many medics fell the death of the brave and many were wounded. Some medical companies suffered casualties reaching as high as 50 percent.

In the course of the evacuation of the wounded there were numerous manifestations of true patriotism and desire to fight the enemy to the last drop of blood. Many of the wounded sharply refused to be evacuated to the rear and requested to remain in their subunits. Red Army man Comrade Kryuchkov, from 2nd Company 1st Infantry Battalion, 51st SBr, was hit. He refused to go to the hospital saying that, "I do not want to abandon my company. I can not leave my comrades and will fight to the end." It was only after receiving a second wound, on the insistence of the company commander, he was sent to the hospital. Wounded Red Army man Arutyunyan of the Separate Signals Company refused to be evacuated from Malaya Zemlya. He is now back in the ranks and is working on establishing communications with the brigade units.

In a single reconnaissance company five soldiers and commanders, wounded, refused to be evacuated to the rear. In the same brigade over 50 wounded troops and commanders refused evacuation to the hospital were returned by the separate medical company and are now in the ranks and operating along with the rest of the troops.

Poarm and large unit political department personnel participated in organizing the evacuation of the wounded. Thanks to the good organization, despite uninterrupted shelling and bombing, from 17 to 26 April we were able to evacuate almost all the wounded from Malaya Zemlya--2,142 men. All of them were successfully taken to Gelendzhik.

Tens of medical workers and medics were cited for government awards for excellent medical service and for displaying courage and heroism.

5. Results of the Five-Day Battles

In five days of offensive combat the enemy failed to achieve any success whatever. He was able to breach our advance in the wedge between the 8th and 51st Brigades and penetrate somewhat in depth. However, on 29 and 30 April, yielding to the strikes our troops, the enemy was forced to abandon this sector as well he had captured at the cost of tremendous casualties.

Enemy Losses

From 17 to 23 April the enemy lost as many as 7,000 soldiers and officers, killed and wounded. Within that period the following were destroyed:

Airplanes--46; machine guns, various--48; mortars, various--26; guns--21; tanks--16; motor vehicles--33.

Conclusions

1. In the course of the defensive battles the party political organs were able to rally the entire personnel. They were the organizing force in mobilizing the entire personnel to repel the fierce enemy attacks.
2. In the course of the defense battles the party political organs gained new experience in party-political work in combat conditions. However, this valuable experience must be summed up and applied in the work of the political departments of all large units.

One of the most important tasks of Poarm is the profound study and summation of the experience gained in party political work in the course of the defensive battles and its practical utilization among the personnel.

Colonel Brezhnev, chief of the political department of the 18th Army

Original

USSR TsAMO, Archive 371, List 6386, File 20, Sheets 334-346

Document No 5

From the Directives of the Political Department of the 18th Army

9 May 1943

To the chiefs of the political departments of large units of the 18th Army

From 17 to 23 April 1943, operating on Malaya Zemlya, our units fought stubborn battles to repel fierce enemy attacks. Troops, commanders, and political workers displayed in these battles courage, firmness, great will power, and high combat skill. Thanks to the exceptional stubbornness of our forces the enemy achieved no successes whatever and, suffering tremendous losses in manpower and equipment, was forced to terminate the attacks.

In the course of these battles the political apparatus and the party and Komsomol organizations of the units of the 16th and 20th SK did a considerable amount of work to mobilize the personnel for the successful implementation of the combat orders of the command for the destruction of the German-fascist aggressors. They gained rich experience in party-political work in combat conditions. A variety of ways and means of party-political work were used. Particularly extensive mass agitation work was done on the appeal of the military council to troops, commanders, and political workers--heroic defenders of Malaya Zemlya. They answered the appeal with letters to the military council in which troops, commanders, and political workers described their heroic actions. Able agitation-propaganda work was carried out in the units of the 16th SK on the subject of combat appeals formulated by political workers and rank and file troops, based on the specific battle circumstances. Slogans such as "Let Us Make Malaya Zemlya a Big Grave for the German Aggressors!" and others were disseminated among the troops in the trenches and were used as topics for talks. Great attention was paid to popularizing the names of troops, commanders, and political workers who had distinguished themselves in combat through special bulletins (165th SBr), battle leaflets, agitators' talks, and others. Examples of courage, firmness, and bravery of troops and commanders in battle were publicized for the instruction of the entire personnel of the units. The sending of letters to the families in kolkhozes, enterprises, and establishments was organized, describing the combat exploits of troops, commanders, and political workers (20th SK).

All this inspired and mobilized the personnel to new heroic accomplishments in the battles with the hated enemy--the German fascist aggressors.

During the repelling of the fierce enemy attacks, the political departments of large units successfully coped with their assignments. Particularly efficient and operative work was done by the political department of the 20th SK. During the entire period Colonel Comrad Ryzhov (A. I.), chief of the political department, remained well informed of the work of all large units. He frequently visited units, rapidly correcting shortcomings in political work. The entire apparatus of the corps' political department was in the battle order of the troops night and day, helping on the spot to organize party-political work. During the combats many political department workers proved themselves as good organizers who are able to lead through words and personal example the troops in the battle against the German-fascist aggressors.

Party-political work was well organized at the 8th Guards SBr (Comrade Malyutenkov (I. V.), brigade deputy commander for political affairs; and Comrade Samburov (N. M.), chief of the political department), the 255th KBMP (Comrade Vidov (M. K.), brigade deputy commander for political affairs, and Comrade Dorofeyev (I. A.), chief of the political department), the 107th

SBr (Comrade Kabanov (V. V.), brigade deputy commander for political affairs; Comrade Shatalin (P. T.), chief of the political department), and the 51st SBr (Comrade Arshinskiy (S. A.), brigade deputy commander for political affairs; Comrade Karpeshin (G. T.), chief of the political department).*

I suggest:

1. To the chiefs of political departments of the 16th and 20th SK to organize a summation of the practical experience of the best party organizers, Komsomol organizers, and subunit deputy commanders for political affairs, covering the period of the battles, and that examples of the work be made available to the party-political apparatus of all units. In the immediate future the political departments of large units to hold seminars for party organizers, Komsomol organizers, and subunit deputy commanders for political affairs to exchange experience in party-political work in combat. Problems of planning party-political work in combat should be thoroughly studied at the seminars and exhaustive instructions should be given on planning the work, seeing to it that political organs and the political apparatus of units a considered specific plan for party-political support, properly deploying party-political forces, and struggling for the full implementation of planned measures.
2. That particular attention be paid in party-political work to securing the uninterrupted and efficient work of rear line organs (deliveries of ammunition, and food to the units, and evacuation of the wounded). The best political workers must be assigned such most important sectors to help rear line workers. Chiefs of political departments must personally daily and tirelessly deal with matters of the work of the rear lines in the course of active combat operations. Particular attention should be paid to insuring the efficient work of medical establishments.
3. Demand of chiefs of political departments, unit deputy commanders for political affairs, and party organizations to display greater responsibility for the growth of party ranks and the prompt issuance of party documents. Those responsible for delays in the consideration of petitions for party admission in combat must be held accountable by the party. New party members must be issued their party documents immediately, during the battle and directly in the units. The condition of the growth of party ranks by individual party organization must be systematically studied and the necessary practical conclusions drawn. The chiefs of political departments must realize that the growth of VKP(b) ranks is the most important sector of party-political work and an indicator of the condition of intra-party and educational work within the units.

*The document further provides a detailed study of intraparty work during the battles.

4. That greater attention be paid and systematic aid given to the organization of party-political work in the staffs. Particular attention must be paid to improving and energizing intraparty life in staff party organizations. Control over and assistance in the work of deputy chiefs of staff for political affairs must be intensified. Close contacts must be established in the work of staffs and political departments.

5. That leading party-political workers systematically visit units and subunits (particularly at night) and hold talks with the personnel, specifically helping subunit deputy commanders for political affairs, party organizers, and Komsomol organizers in conducting party-political work in the front lines.

All party-political work of political organs, and party and Komsomol organizations must be based on organizing the extensive study of order No 195 of Marshall of the Soviet Union Comrade Stalin, supreme commander in chief, to the entire personnel, and on the daily struggle for the full implementation of the assignments formulated in the order.

The present directive shall be discussed at conferences of workers of political departments and unit deputy commanders for political affairs. Specific measures shall be earmarked to improve party-political work.

Colonel Brezhnev, chief of the political department of the 18th Army

Original

USSR TsAMO, Archive 371, List 6,386, File 15, Sheets 128-133.

Document No 6

Report of the Political Department of the 18th Army of the
Results of the Army Review of Red Army
Amateur Performances

8 July 1943

To Major General Comrade Yemel'yanov (S. S.), chief of the political administration of the North Caucasian Front

At the beginning of June 1943 the army political department decided to hold an army review of Red Army amateur performances. This was made necessary, first of all, by the need to establish the artistic possibilities of subunits, units, and large units, and to create favorable circumstances for their work and creative growth and, secondly, the need to improve cultural services to the personnel, particularly at the front lines of defense. The Poarm initiative to hold an artistic review of amateur performances met with the full approval of the army military council.

At the beginning of June a detailed plan for the preparations for and holding of the review was formulated by the Red Army House. The Poarm issued to all party-political organs a corresponding directive on the preparatory work to be done on the review. In the course of the preparations, we set ourselves the assignment of involving in the review as many troops and commanders as possible. To this effect, it was decided to hold in all subunits, units, and large units a review of red army amateur performances before 1 July.

A jury was set up in charge of preparations for and holding of the review consisting of:

Colonel Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, chief of the army political department (chairman)

Major Comrade Pavlusenko (G. I.), chief of the 18th Army DKA

Lieutenant Colonel T. Zhikh (V. I.), chief of the rear forces political department

Lieutenant Colonel Comrade Verkhovskiy (V. I.), editor of the army newspaper

Major Comrade Nikonov (V. A.), Poarm deputy chief for Komsomol affairs

Major Comrade Pakhomov (S. S.), chief, agitation and propaganda section

Captain Comrade Orland (F. G.), head of the ensemble of the 20th DSK

Sergeant Comrade Kannabikh (L. V.)

Captain Comrade Kurochkin (F. Ya.)

Captain Comrade Risman (G. I.)

Master Sergeant Comrade Kolotnev (L. I.)

Sergeant Comrade Melenchenko (A. S.)

The political departments of large units and the deputy commanders of army units in charge of political affairs were asked to head the preparations for the review and mobilize for this purpose the party-Komsomol forces and non-party aktiv. As many as 20 Poarm personnel were assigned to help the political organs in all large units, army units, and rear line establishments, including my assistant in charge of Komsomol affairs Major Comrade Nikonov, Major Comrade Pavlusenko, chief of the army's Red Army House, personnel of the agitation and propaganda department, personnel of the Red Army Song and Dance Ensemble, and others. Visiting Malaya Zemlya I personally studied the course of the preparations for the review of Red Army amateur performances and participated in the selection for the army review both at the 20th DSK itself and in the large units.

Starting with 15 June extensive work was launched in all units on preparations for the review. Special conferences for deputy commanders in charge of political affairs were held by the political departments of the large units on preparations for the review. On 19 June Poarm held a conference for deputy commanders of political departments in charge of the Komsomol; a conference of large unit agitators was held on 21 June. Party and Komsomol meetings on preparations for the review were held in all units and subunits.

The decision to hold an army review was welcomed by the personnel of units and subunits with great satisfaction. Groups of dancers, singers, musicians, readers, story tellers, and so on, began to be set up in all units. Clubs and Komsomol organizations played an exceptional role in all preparations for the review of the Red Army amateur performances. As a rule, the Komsomol members were at the core of the creative work of the troops. They acted as organizers and direct participants in the mass amateur performances.

In the course of the preparations for the review troops and commanders displayed exceptional resourcefulness: They made their own musical instruments, made clothes from surgical gauze and matting, and composed poems and songs on Malaya Zemlya and on the army's heroes and heroines. All in all they submitted for the review in units and subunits 48 songs, 9 sketches, and 32 poems. Frequently the entire subunit would help the discovery of talented performers. The following case occurred at the 83rd KBMP: Looking for candidates as amateur performers in the 144th Battalion the Red Navy men themselves nominated Red Navy man Comrade Simanovskiy (G. N.): "Let our Simanovskiy dance, he will show his class." Initially Simanovskiy refused and shied away. He then yielded and indeed proved his quality as a dancer. He was highly rated at the amateur performance review.

Preparations for the review took place under exceptionally complex conditions, particularly on Malaya Zemlya. Rehearsals were held in dugouts and trenches under steady artillery-mortar shelling. At the 83rd KBMP there was even a case when a shell fell on the roof of the pillbox. Fortunately, the only casualty was the accordian.

Despite everything, there were very many candidates for amateur performances. All in all for the army, in all the reviews ranging from the company to the army levels, about 4,000 performers were auditioned. In some cases as many as 50 percent of the personnel of subunits (mortars battalion, 8th Guards sbr) participated in the preparations for the review, naturally, without lowering in the least vigilance and observation of the enemy's front lines.

The selection of participants for the army review of amateur performances was very thorough. Each unit selected its best and most perfect which could satisfy the high demands of the division and brigade selection commissions.

The review began on 20 June in large units and units. By 3 July 1,178 collectives and individual performances had been auditioned in the large units and units. Red Army amateur performances were auditioned in 156 companies and battalions.

On 30 June the Red Army amateur performances of rear line units and army establishments were auditioned with the participation of 23 collectives numbering 480 performers; 73 of the best performers were selected for the army review.

As a result of the extensive work done with the personnel of units and large units, the 56 best creative collectives were trained and selected, totalling 413 performers. All large units and a large number of army units were represented at the army review. Of the overall number of participants 236 were battle veterans. Of them 108 had been awarded battle orders and medals.

The army review of Red Army amateur performances was exceptionally well organized and proved the existence of inexhaustible sources of creative activeness on the part of troops and commanders and the higher cultural standard of the personnel.

The navy collective of the 83 KBMP won first place in the view and its creative work was rated highly. This collective presented a variegated interesting program at the army review of amateur performances. It included the Russian folksong "Along PETERSKAYA," performed by submachine gunner Comrade Yavorskiy (N. Ye.), a gypsy song performed by scout Comrade Kolesnikov (V. F.), and "Striped Vest," a navy song performed by the entire collective, as well as the lyrical song "In a Quite Hut," sang with great feeling by Junior Lieutenant Shmatova (O. M.). The collective was directed by Master Sergeant Naumenko (A. D.).

The principal merit of this combat collective was that it based most of its program on local materials, praising the heroes of its unit, and the romanticism of Malaya Zemlya. Master Sergeant Poznyshev (A. A.) played several navy songs on a captured accordion. The collective of this brigade greatly benefited from its creative cooperation with the young poet Lieutenant Comrade Totskiy (V. R.). The song "On Malaya Zemlya," he wrote, the introductory poems, and the lyrical song "Encounter," truly embellished the program.

Singing was the most frequent type of performance. In the course of two days a large number of choirs and capable soloists were heard. Particularly well performed were Ukrainian folksongs sung by the chorus of the 595th Vehicle Base (directed by Captain Stepanenko (A. M.)), and the chorus of the 108th Guards OIPTAP²³ (directed by Lieutenant Shevchenko (N. A.)).

Russian and Ukrainian dances were performed extensively and successfully. The dancers of the 83rd KBMP and the 88th Signals Regiment particularly distinguished themselves.

Rhythmical dances, acrobatics, magicians, and music acts were extensively performed. A good pace was maintained throughout the performances which were light and informal. There were brilliant performances of sketches,

theatrical scenes, and artistic readings. Red Navy man Belov read the story "Bad Blood" with a soft humor; Red Army man Sumarokov (G. F.) masterly played a role in the sketch "Othello." Red Army man Kovalevskiy (A. D.) was highly rated for the way he read the poem "On Commissar Usov."

Particularly noteworthy were the performances by Caucasian folk poets and singers Red Army man Iskanderov (I. A.) and Junior Sergeant Abramyan (S. K.) (182nd OLBS²⁴) who performed the song-tale "On Malaya Zemlya" on folk instruments--tar and saz. Several folksongs were skillfully performed on symbols--an ancient instrument--by Red Army man Skidanov (P. F.) who, incidentally, had made the instrument himself. His performance was rated highly.

The army review of Red Army amateur performances took place on 8 and 9 July. It was a vivid demonstration of the high combat spirit and creative active-ness of the personnel. The following attended the amateur performances re-view: Army commander Lieutenant General Comrade Leselidze (K. N.), military council member Major General Comrade Kolomin (S. Ye.), military council member Colonel Comrade Buldovich (R. Ye.), chiefs of administrative departments, editorial workers, and numerous representatives of units and large units.

The army review took place on a well equipped stage. Food supplies, services, and recreation facilities were well organized. The following services were provided to the participants: Barber, tailoring, and shoe making shops, a post exchange, and others. Two new movies were shown and the concert brigade of the Moscow State Philharmony and the ensemble of the Red Army Club gave a concert.

Two issues of the ZNAMYA RODINY were dedicated to the review of the Red Army amateur performances.

In the course of the review eight concert brigades were set up consisting of the best performers. They gave 11 concerts for troops and commanders in hospitals and army units. On 11 July concerts were performed at the VPU and the army command post by the best participants selected at the army review.

Following the review the political department drew up a draft decree of the army military council summing up the entire work related to the preparations for and holding of the review of Red Army amateur performances, noting successes and shortcomings in this area.

The military council awarded accordians, violins, guitars, and music instruments to 10 Red Army amateur performance collectives; the five best performers were awarded engraved watches; 28 performers received valuable gifts. Watches were awarded to Lieutenant Shevchenko (N. A.) (108th Guards OIPTAP), Guards Red Army man Kovalevskiy (A. D.) (107th SBr), Red Army man Skidanov (P. F.) (1,608th PPG²⁵), Guards Junior Sergeant Khayrulin (S. M.) (69th GAP²⁶), and Petty Officer First Class Poznyshev (A. A.) (83rd KBMP).

In its decree the military council noted that Red Army amateur performances in companies and battalions are still insufficiently developed and drew the attention of the party political organs to the elimination of this shortcoming.

On 11 July I held a special conference with all participants in the army review on its results. The decree of the jury was announced noting successes and shortcomings in the development of amateur performances by each collective. The military council decree was read and the prizes and gifts were presented to representatives of the awarded collectives.

The army political departments drew the attention of the chiefs of political organs and deputy commanders for political affairs of the individual units to the need to consolidate the successes achieved in the development of Red Army amateur performances, particularly to increasing work with troops of non-Russian nationality and finding among them talented singers, storytellers, dancers, and others, and to organizing such activities directly in companies and battalions.

With a view to giving daily assistance to party political organs, clubs, and artistic instructors in their work for the further development of Red Army amateur performances, the DKA is setting up a method office which will provide consultations and supply Red Army amateur performance collectives with materials, repertoire, and methodical instructions and provide practical assistance using the skilled personnel of the DKA ensemble.

Artistic collectives are being exchanged among army units and large units with a view to sharing practical experience in the organization of Red Army amateur performances.

After the army review of Red Army amateur performances, Poarm will take all the necessary measures to consolidate achieved results and promote the further development of Red Army performances in companies, units, and large units in our army.

Colonel Brezhnev, chief of the political department of the 18th Army

Original

USSR TsAMO, Archive 371, List 6,386, File 21, Sheets 37-41

Document No 7

From the Report of the Political Department of the 18th Army
on the Heroism of the Personnel in Combat and on the
Vanguard Role of Party and Komsomol Members in
Carrying out Battle Assignments

22 August 1943

To Major General Comrade Yemel'yanov (S. S.), chief of the political administration of the North Caucasian Front

Developing the courage and heroism of the personnel is the main and decisive feature of the work of party political organs. To this effect troops and commanders who have distinguished themselves on the battlefield are being extensively popularized. The dissemination of the combat experience of the leading people of our army is implemented through local newspapers, all types of meetings, daily group and individual talks, and addresses by the heroes themselves to the troops, new reinforcements in particular. Each unit has its heroes whose battle experience is used to train troops and commanders.

Particularly extensive work in promoting the courage and heroism of troops and commanders takes place in the course of combat operations. To this purpose the party political organs are daily summing up the results of the daily battles at meetings or through group and individual talks, announcing the names of those who have distinguished themselves the most in battle.

Thanks to the daily work of commanders and party political organs for the education of the troops, heroism has become a truly mass phenomenon. On numerous occasions a platoon, squad, company, and even entire battalion has perished under the fire of superior enemy forces without retreating a single step.

In April, when our units operating on Malaya Zemlya were repulsing fierce enemy attacks, the personnel of the 4th Infantry Battalion, 107th Brigade, was almost entirely annihilated on the battlefield without retreating one step. A similar case occurred at the 8th Guards Infantry Brigade. Here the mortar company was totally destroyed but did not allow any further enemy advance between our defense lines.

Heroism has become part of the life of our forces and is an inseparable feature of the majority of the people. It is displayed daily in and out of combat. This phenomenon appears particularly clearly on Malaya Zemlya. Here nearly every person is a hero. Every day, under heavy artillery fire, loaders, receivers, and store men unload ships supplying ammunition and food. Medical workers and orderlies are providing the necessary aid to the wounded under such circumstances, displaying amazing dedication, evacuating them to the "Big Land." Every day ammunition and supply carriers work on areas under enemy fire and bombs. Thousands of our people living on Malaya Zemlya are firmly defending their lines and no force is capable of making them retreat. This was particularly eloquently confirmed by the German April offensive. At that time the enemy hurled tremendous forces against our units. In the final account, however, he was forced to give up his plan.

In the last days of July our troops waged bloody battles against the enemy. Those days mass heroism was displayed by troops and commanders. Individual privates, sergeants, and officers displayed models of courage, high offensive thrust, and unparalleled courage. This was the result of the daily and painstaking educational work conducted by the party political organs with the personnel.

Our officers are acting with exceptional resolve and daring. Wherever indicated by the circumstances, without sparing their lives, they hurl themselves at the enemy, engaging in hand to hand combat and inspiring the soldiers with their behavior.

When the 107th Brigade was fighting for Hill No 5 Junior Lieutenant Comrade Pas'ko (I. V.) single handedly fought two soldiers and an officer. He killed the officer and one of the soldiers with his submachine gun and delivered the other soldier to headquarters alive. Even though wounded, Comrade Pas'ko also captured the officer's satchel with valuable documents.

Party and Komsomol members are playing the vanguard role in the battlefield in all units without exception. Many of them have covered their names with unfading glory. Party and Komsomol members are always sent by the command to the most important and decisive sectors. Through their daring, courage, and firmness of spirit they train the entire personnel, leading troops and commanders to battle regardless of difficulties.

At the end of July, in the battle for Hill 352.1, Red Army man Comrade Ovchinnikov (G. S.), party organizer, 7th Infantry Company, 81st KBMP²⁷ immortalized his name by blocking with his body at the most difficult time the slit of the fascist pillbox, thus making possible the further advance of our subunits.

The vanguard role of party and Komsomol members was displayed particularly vividly in the struggle for Hill No 5.

Before joining the battle, party member Bogadyrov (M. S.) stated at a party meeting: "I am 42 years old. However, I shall give my battle comrades an example of how every Soviet soldier must fight and kill the fascist talks. I will be ahead and I hope that others will not fall behind me." Comrade Bogadyrov kept his word. His decisiveness was literally contagious to the rest. With his submachine gun and hand grenades he killed six enemy soldiers and took two soldiers with their weapons prisoners.

The following case occurred in the same brigade. At the very top of Hill No 5 Red Army man Komsomol member Comrade Presnyakov (N. I.) and machine gun company party organizer Master Sergeant Comrade Pashchenko (G. I.) met face to face with three fascist soldiers. In the course of the short clash Master Sergeant Pashchenko was mortally wounded. With accurate fire Komsomol member Presnyakov immediately killed two enemy soldiers and engaged the third in hand to hand combat.

The party and Komsomol organizations demand of their members to be models of courage on the battlefield, raising them in the spirit of leaders of the non-party masses.

A great variety of methods are used to reward troops and commanders distinguished on the battlefield: Command citations, government awards, and universal honor to every hero who has distinguished himself in the battle against

the enemy. During the battles for Hill No 5 210 people of the 107th Brigade were awarded orders and medals, 84 of them party members. In the course of their stay on Malaya Zemlya over 900 people of the 255th KBMP and 1,319 men of the 83rd KBMP were awarded orders and medals.

Colonel Brezhnev, chief of the political department of the 18th Army

Original

USSR TsAMO, Archive 371, List 6,386, File 21, Sheets 165-167.

Document No 8

From ZNAMYA RODINY the Red Army Newspaper
of the 18th Army

28 February 1943

At a reception by the military council, on 23 February, the richly illustrated battle sheet POLUNDRA was handed around. It is published by the navy subunit whose political department commander is Major Dorofeyev (I. A.). It deservedly earned the admiration of all, from simple privates to the command. POLUNDRA proved to many political workers and editors of combat sheets attending the meeting what the primary press should be so that it may excite, fire, and lead its readers for the entire purging of the Soviet land from the fascist dirt.

Every day POLUNDRA describes the best people of its subunit, popularizing their exploits, and summing up their experience. This is mainly the merit of the sheet's editor Junior Sergeant Mariya Pedenko. The favorite method for developing ties with the readers are Red Army humor, biting caricatures, and inspired and inventive poems.

Lieutenant Mamayev (A. F.) went with a find comb over one of the areas of a big disputed settlement. The following day POLUNDRA showed a cartoon entitled "Mamayev-Style Comb": It showed the lieutenant carrying his submachine gun with Germans and parts of their bodies flying in all directions. The caption read:

"The bandits ran off feverishly, falling dead when in the water tower area Mamayev was combing the Kraut's heads."

In addition to humor POLUNDRA has pages full of cause for victory and love for life. On 12th February the Red Flag was hoisted over the liberated part of the city of N.* On the occasion of this noteworthy event POLUNDRA published a beautifully inspired drawing: A tower on which the Red Flag was waving and under it shaking Krauts. The caption read:

*Novorossiysk

"Let the fascists rave in this fever. They will no longer pull down the flag. On the old water tower it will flutter, a symbol of glory."

POLUNDRA dedicated many of its pages to the battles for the city of N. Following is the end of one of the poems written by Lieutenant M. Malakhov:

"The people can already hear it: Potapov is coming, and with him are Khlyabich, Mamayev, and Yegorov. The city tortured by the enemy is coming out of the darkness, breathlessly waiting."

There is a great deal of meaning and sense in these few lines: The names of heroes and the tasks for which the heroes are fighting.

Perfectly familiar with the life of its subunit, with Bolshevik passion, POLUNDRA is doing necessary and useful work, mobilizing the forces of the troops for the fastest possible liberation of the Soviet land from the German aggressors.

In addition to (the battle sheet) POLUNDRA, the subunit publishes a weekly handwritten "information bulletin." It comes in 15 copies and is distributed among all subunits. It is edited and produced by the POLUNDRA personnel.

The bulletin has dozens of military correspondents. It chooses what is most interesting in the life of the subunit and each of its issues is no less interesting than POLUNDRA.

Reprinted from the newspaper ZNAMYA RODINY

USSR TsAMO, Archive 371, List 6,429, File 13, Sheet 45

Document No 9

From the Report of the Political Department of the 18th Army
on the Work of the Komsomol Organizations in Offensive
Combat

28 March 1943

In all offensive battles waged by the army's large units and units in Myskhako, the Komsomol members were always ahead, displaying courage and bravery in the struggle against the German occupation forces, leading the troops with their personal example to the excellent implementation of assignments.

Fifteen year old Komsomol member Vitya Chalenko, ward of the 16th Battalion, 83rd Infantry Brigade, awarded the Order of the Red Star, and recipient of a Komsomol card only 10 days previously, secured the advance of the subunit at the cost of his own life.

The infantry company in which Vitya Chalenko fought was prevented from advancing by an enemy machine gun. Vitya Chalenko volunteered to destroy the gun. He crawled through a close range of the machine gun and threw hand grenades at it. The machine gun was silenced. The subunit rose to the attack. Vitya Chalenko was with it. In the battle, however, he was mortally wounded. A notebook was found in his pocket carrying the following entry:

"Should I die in the battle for the workers' cause, I ask political instructor Vershinin and Senior Lieutenant Kunitsin to go, if possible, to my mother who lives in Yeysk and tell her about her beloved son and of the way he promptly gave his life for the liberation of his homeland. I request that my Order and Komsomol card, and this notebook to be given to mother. Let her save them and remember her sailor son. Let my cap always remind her of the Black Sea glory."

The unit's command awarded the Order of the Red Banner posthumously to the hero Vitya Chalenko.

The heroic exploit of the Komsomol-seaman Vitya Chalenko, the favorite of all soldiers and commanders, is being extensively disseminated by the agitators among the unit's personnel and in Red Army combat sheets.

In the last battles in the area of Novorossiysk, Comrade Tvorogov, Komsomol member machine gunner of the 2nd Infantry Battalion, 107th Infantry Brigade, became the best machine gunner of his subunit. On 8 March 1943 the enemy launched 10 counter-attacks against the 2nd Battalion sector. With the fire of his machine gun Komsomol member Tvorogov repelled all enemy attacks. That day he killed 37 fascist bandits. Comrade Tvorogov is credited with having killed a total of 45 Hitlerites.

During the battles Komsomol member medical instructor Valentina Kozhan (165th SBr) carried out of the battlefield 120 wounded troops and commanders with their weapons.

Guards Komsomol member medical instructor Raisa Dem'yanenko removed from the battlefield 39 wounded troops and commanders. In the last battle the commander of a squad was wounded and no one was commanding the battle. The brave girl gave the order: "Squad, attack! Guardsmen, forward!" She personally killed seven fascists in that battle. The brave girl was hit by an enemy bullet. She dressed her own wound and continued to command the battle.

The Komsomol organizations have begun to deal more concretely with the problem of training snipers.

In the 165th SBr 32 of the 39 snipers are Komsomol members. Every day they hunt fascists and their battle count is growing with every passing day. On the initiative of the Komsomol organizations a daily bulletin is issued in the brigade units reporting the result of the snipers' work the previous day. The bulletin is rapidly disseminated among all subunits and the agitators describe its content to all troops.

The 255th Red Banner Marine Infantry Brigade publishes the local newspaper POLUNDRA which also publishes the daily results of the snipers' work.

All in all the army's units have 468 snipers Komsomol members.

Over a single three month period (January, February, and March) 673 Komsomol members were awarded orders and medals by the Soviet government for heroism displayed in the battles against the German-fascist monsters.

The company Komsomol organizations are the true assistants of company commanders and party organizations in carrying out battle assignments and strengthening the iron military discipline, above all among their Komsomol members, developing in them infinite loyalty to the homeland and burning hatred for the German invaders.

The Komsomol meetings in the company organization are a real school for communist education of the youth. In most organizations the meetings are held regularly, twice monthly, prepared in advance by the Komsomol aktiv. The following problems are discussed: "The vanguard role of the Komsomol members in battle"; "battle results"; "information supplied by individual Komsomol members on their vanguard role in battle," and others.

The meetings are held on a high ideological-political level. Shortcomings in Komsomol work are exposed at them and specific measures for their elimination are earmarked.

One of the forms of educational work is sending letters to relatives and enterprises where the Komsomol members worked before being drafted. The letters describe of the heroic behavior of one or another Komsomol member, and the atrocities committed by the German occupation forces against the civilian population, and others.

In their answers the workers describe their selfless work at enterprises and kolkhozes, and the way they help the front.

This work is well organized in the Komsomol organizations of the unit where Comrade Molchanov (8th Guards SBr) is Komsomol bureau secretary.

The 490th Artillery Regiment has many Kazakhs who are Komsomol members. The Komsomol organization has organized their extensive correspondence with the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee, the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Kazakhstan Komsomol Central Committee.

The letters describe the combat exploits of the Kazakh troops, and the glory earned by Komsomol members artillerymen Kulimbekov, Abdikarimov, Usumbayev, and others. The Komsomol members actively participate in Red Army meetings held in companies before battle, assuring the commanders that they will fight the enemy courageously and bravely, without sparing their lives, for full victory over the German invaders.

There are 1,146 Komsomol agitators in the army units. Through collective and individual talks the company agitators bring Bolshevik words to the Red Army masses, and announcements of the Soviet Information Bureau. They popularize the heroic exploits of troops and commanders and, through their personal example, inspire the personnel to implement better the combat assignments set the subunits.

The Komsomol organizations in the army's units have 11,647 Komsomol members. They are the best leading fighters and commanders, loyal to the cause of the party and the socialist homeland. In the fierce battles with the sworn enemy, led by their commanders and party organizations, they accomplish heroic exploits. They inspire through their personal example of courage and bravery the Red Army masses for the better implementation of the battle assignments issued by the command.

In recent months the Komsomol organizations have considerably improved their work in involving the leading young people as Komsomol members and accepting Komsomol members distinguished in battle as candidate members of the VKP(b).

In his petition Red Army man Comrade Matus'yan wrote: "I request to be accepted member of the Leninist Komsomol. I want to go into battle as a Komsomol member, sparing neither my blood nor my life, fighting the enemy to his full destruction." Comrade Matsu'yan honorably fulfilled his pledge. In the first days of battles on Malaya Zemlya he killed 12 fascists and participated in a number of combat operations, displaying courage and bravery.

Original

USSR TsAMO, Archive 371, List 6,386, File 130, Sheets 6-18.

Document No 10

Instruction of the Political Administration of the Black Sea
Fleet and the Political Department of the 18th Army
to the Landing Troops

(1 September 1943)

The great war of liberation waged by the Soviet people against the German-fascist aggressors has entered its decisive phase. Step by step our native Soviet land is being liberated from the fascist bandits--Orel, Belgorod, Khar'kov, Daganrog, Sevs, Yel'nya, Glukhov, Ryl'sk, Dorogobuzh, and other cities. Depriving the fascist warriors of their initiative, the Red Army is pursuing the much-vaunted German military to the West.

The valorous forces of the Central, Western, Southwestern, and Southern Fronts are advancing.

Let us add our strike to the powerful strikes which the Red Army is dealing the enemy.

Our task is to expel and defeat the enemy on our sector of the front and begin the clearing of the Black Sea Shore and Tanan' from the fascist scum.

Comrade soldiers of the valorous Red Army! Comrade soldiers of the famous Marine Infantry! Remember that the secrecy and swiftness of the strike determine the success of the landing operation.

Act boldly and decisively!

Insuring Secrecy and Strict Aboard Ship!

During the embarkation, crossing, and landing firmly observe the ship's rules. Do not smoke on deck. Strictly see to it that portholes, hatches, and hatchways are completely backed out and that no light could be seen. Even the smallest source of light could help the enemy in detecting the ship. Do not allow noise, loud shouts, music, or singing.

Do not distract the ship's crew from carrying out their official duties with talk and questions.

Vigilantly Watch Out for the Enemy!

In the crossing at sea vigilantly watch the sea and the skies in your sector and immediately report to your commander anything you may have noticed.

Prevent an Outbreak of Panic Aboard Ship!

If the enemy attacks from the sea or the air, if the alarm has been sounded, take your indicated position and execute precisely your commander's orders.

Protect Your Weapon!

Your weapon is your friend. Protect it like the apple of your eye. It brings death to the hated enemy. It will rescue you in battle. Check in time the condition of your weapon, the safety of your weapons reserve and your uniform and outfit.

In Landing Ashore Act Rapidly and in an Orderly Fashion!

Aboard ship keep your weapon ready for combat. Obey unquestioningly the orders of the commander of the motor launch or motor boat, or the launch's petty officer. Approaching the shore, when ordered immediately jump on the ground or in the water in order to capture the objective more rapidly.

Ashore Move Only Forward!

However strongly the enemy may defend himself he must be destroyed.

Remember that the enemy will not withstand a joint and bold strike. Overwhelmed from such a strike the enemy will run away. Ashore use any fold, fence, or garden, boldly move into the enemy's rear lines. Display initiative and military cunning in battle!

Help you comrade! The best help to your comrade is an impetuous pressure on the enemy.

Listen to and accurately execute your commanders orders.

Move only forward. The combat assignment must be carried out at all costs.

Comrade Soldiers!

Remember that our fathers and mothers, wives and children, and brothers and sisters, wasting away under the yoke of the fascist aggressors, are awaiting us with great impatience.

Remember the atrocities to which the Hitlerite bandits subjected our wounded comrades--navy and Red Army men--in Novorossiysk. They bound their hands and feet, put out their eyes, cut off their tongues, and threw them into the sea.

Comrades, ahead of you there lies the sacred native land, trampled by the boots of the fascist monsters-aggressors. It awaits you!

Let us revenge the death of our comrades!

Death to the fascist vermin!

Forward and only forward!

Political Administration of the Black Sea Fleet

Political Department of the Army

Reprinted from a leaflet.

USSR TsAMO, Archive 371, List 6,386, Case 103, Sheet 6.

Document No 11

Address of the Military Council of the 18th Army
to the Heroic Liberators of Novorossiysk

14 September 1943

Battle Comrades!

With a swift spurt and a crushing blow, together with the seamen of the Black Sea Fleet, you breached the enemy's defense. Sailors' caps, covered in glory, and Red Navy striped vests are filling the streets of the proud navy town not conquered by the enemy, like molten metal.

The Kunikov fighters, great Potapov men, and tireless Kadanchik Infantrymen once again famed themselves with an outstanding victory--the beginning of the total defeat and destruction of the German gangs on the Tanan'.

There will be no end of the people's happiness. A considerable section of our Novorossiysk is already in our hands.

As great followers of the heroic defenders of Odessa, Leningrad, Sebastopol, and Stalingrad, you are fulfilling the cherished dream of your battle comrades who fought on Myskhako--linking the "Small Land" with the "Big Land."

The army's military council warmly congratulates you for your first battle successes in the landing and calls on you to advance and only to advance tirelessly and persistently, until the full liberation of the Tanan' Peninsula has been achieved, where our children, wives, mothers, and fathers, who have suffered under the fascist yoke, are awaiting you with open arms.

Comrade Red Navy and Red Army men, commanders, and political workers!

Without respite and stops, pursue the enemy at his heels, surround and destroy him. One more blow at the enemy, battle comrades, and Novorossiysk will be swept clean of the German-fascist dirt.

The Soviet people will never forget this and will remember and be proud of your exploits through the centuries.

The army's military council proclaims its gratitude to the entire rank and file, sergeant and officer personnel and suggests to commanders of units and large units to submit for government awards and to award all comrades distinguished in combat.

Honor and glory to the participants in the landing--the heroic liberators of Novorossiysk!

Long live the invincible and valorous Red Army!

The army military council

Reprinted from a leaflet

USSR TsAMO, Archive 371, List 6,386, File 103, Sheet 3.

Abbreviations

1. NVMB--Novorossiysk Navy Base;
2. 255th MSBr--255th Marine Infantry Brigade, Black Sea Navy;
3. 165th SBr--165th Infantry Brigade;
4. 83rd MSBr--83rd Marine Infantry Brigade;
5. 29 iptap--29th Anti-tank Artillery Regiment;
6. A--Army
7. SKF--North Caucasian Front;
8. GShKA--Red Army General Staff;
9. svkh--Sovkhoz;
10. sk (SK)--Infantry Corps;
11. gv. sk--Guards Infantry Corps;
12. gv. SBr (sbr)--Guards Infantry Brigade;
13. sd (SD)--Infantry Division;
14. TBr--Tank Brigade;
15. ARGK--Main Command Artillery Reserve;
16. GMCh--Guards Mortar Units (Jet Artillery);
17. 255th KBMP--255th Red Banner Marine Infantry Brigade;
18. 83rd KBMP--83rd Red Banner Marine Infantry Brigade;
19. GSD--Mountain Infantry Division;
20. Poarm--Army Political Department;
21. 20th DSK--20th Landing Infantry Corps;
22. spNKVD--Infantry Regiment of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs;
23. 108th gv. OIPTAP--108th Guards Separate Anti-tank Artillery Regiment;
24. 182nd OLBS--182nd Separate Line Signals Battalion;
25. 1,608th PPG--1,608th Field Mobile Hospital;
26. 69th GAP--69th Mortar Artillery Regiment;
27. 81st KBMP--81st Red Banner Marine Infantry Brigade.

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CSO: 1802

MILITARY SCIENCE AND DEFENSE OF THE SOCIALIST FATHERLAND

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 7, May 1978 pp 110-121

[Article by Marshall of the Soviet Union N. Ogarkov, chief of General Staff of the Armed Forces and USSR first deputy minister of defense]

[Text] In their seventh decade the valorous armed forces of the USSR are honorably implementing the responsible task assigned to them by the Communist Party and the Soviet people--the reliable protection of the socialist fatherland. In the greeting presented by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman at the ceremonious meeting on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the Soviet army and navy, the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and USSR Council of Ministers rated highly the military exploits and historical merits of the Soviet troops.

The party and the people are tirelessly concerned with the all-round strengthening of the country's defense capability and combat power of its armed forces. Soviet military science plays an important role in the solution of this problem as confirmed by the entire 60 years of Soviet army history.

I.

The appearance of the military science of the proletariat was determined by the objective requirements of the revolutionary struggle of the toiling masses against the oppressors. Its foundations were laid by K. Marx and F. Engels who were the first to use dialectical materialism in studying the problems of war. The founders of scientific communism reached the conclusion that the liberation of the proletariat "will have its particular expression in military affairs and will develop its own particular, new military method," and that the military science of the proletariat will be "the necessary product of the new social relations" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch" [Works], Vol 7, pp 509-510).

Marx and Engels critically reworked everything that military thinking had developed in the previous epochs and provided a scientific interpretation of the role of violence in history and the reasons for the outbreak and nature

of wars. They discovered the dependence of the condition of military affairs on the level of production forces and nature of production relations, and established a number of laws governing its development. They proved that victory or defeat in war depended on economic factors and the spirit of the army personnel and the people, and the level of development and social nature of the military organization. They formulated a number of important principles of the marshall art.

V. I. Lenin's name is linked with the qualitatively new stage which developed in the history of Marxist military thinking. Preparing the Russian working class for the seizure of power, and developing and intensifying Marx's and Engels' military-theoretical legacy, he thoughtfully studied past military experience and bourgeois military science and, like Engels, became himself a great military expert.

Lenin elaborated the military program of the proletarian revolution and the theory of the defense of the socialist fatherland. He profoundly revealed the essence and socio-political nature of modern wars, and formulated concepts on the interconnection between war and politics, war and economics, politics and strategy, unity between front and rear, role of the people's masses, and ratio between objective and subjective and material and spiritual factors in war. All this raised the Marxist theory of war and armed forces to a new higher level.

Deepening the Marxist understanding of the dependence of military are on changes in weaponry and military equipment, Lenin elaborated the dialectics of the development of ways and means for waging the armed struggle. He deserves great credit for bringing to light the role of the moral-political factor in modern wars. The leader of the revolution scientifically substantiated the most important conclusion of the requirement of undivided leadership by the Communist Party of the armed forces of the socialist state.

Thus, Marx and Engels laid the foundations of the military science of the proletariat. Further developing Marxist military theory as applicable to the new historical conditions, Lenin was the originator of Soviet military science, linking it with the solution of the practical problems of the proletarian revolution and the civil war.

Lenin's fundamental ideas were the theoretical base for the creation of an army of a new type--Red Army; guided by them, our armed forces defeated the White Guards and foreign interventionists. Headed by Lenin, the Communist Party formulated the theoretical foundations of the structure of the armed forces. To Soviet military sciencee the years of struggle against the domestic counter-revolution and the military intervention became a period of the formation and the organization of essentially all its components and, above all, of the theory of the marshall art.

The defeat of the main forces of the domestic counter-revolution and the foreign interventionists was achieved as a result of the skillfully planned

and masterly executed offensive operations mounted along the most important strategic directions according to a single concept and plan. Soviet military strategy skillfully shows the directions of the main strikes and the time to convert to an offensive. It effectively developed operative and strategic successes, using large units and formations highly mobile for that period such as mounted corps and armies. Already then the elements of combined-arms combat were being established in tactics. The development of the battle order in offensive and defensive was distinguished by considerable flexibility. The guerilla movement became an important factor. Great attention was paid to the creation and effective utilization of strategic reserves. The system of centralized leadership of the armed forces, created in the course of the war and steadily improved, proved its effectiveness.

As a whole, as a basic component of Soviet military science, Soviet military art successfully resolved the problem of using all branches of the armed forces and arms. Interaction was skillfully organized and maintained in the overwhelming majority of the operations and battles. The extensive maneuvering of forces in the course of combat operations gave them their dynamic and rapid nature. The constant attention to such problems paid by the party's Central Committee and, personally, by Lenin who provided the direct leadership of military operations was a decisive factor for the successful development of Soviet military theory and practice in the civil war.

II.

After the civil war, undertaking peaceful construction, the Communist Party did not forget for a minute the possibility of a new imperialist aggression. In this connection, a RKP(b) Central Committee circular, dated 12 January 1921, and addressed to all party organizations, stated: "The day when we weaken our forces will be the day marking the beginning of a new offensive against us. We would commit a terrible crime against the revolution were we to forget this." Therefore, the party took the necessary measures to strengthen the country's defense capability and to develop our military science.

Soviet military science developed in accordance with the basic Leninist conclusions and concepts and on the basis of the profound study and critical analysis of combat experience acquired in defending the gains of the Great October Revolution. Lenin's students and closest fellow workers made a great contribution to military science at that time. In this respect M. V. Frunze, the outstanding proletarian military leader and theoretician, played a particular role. The military reform of 1924-1925, which was of exceptional importance to the further strengthening of the defense capability of the USSR, was carried out under his direct leadership.

Already then a number of basic stipulations were formulated which determined, for many years ahead, the tasks and directions in the development of military

science. It was believed that the system for the defense of the socialist state must be based on a clear concept of the nature of a future war and on the proper and accurate consideration of the forces and means at the disposal of a possible enemy as well as of our own resources.

The study of the deployment of class forces in the world led to the substantiated conclusion that a future war, should it be unleashed by the imperialists, would be protracted and would require the maximal stress of all material and spiritual forces of the country and that mobile, mainly offensive forms of struggle would predominate while military operations would most likely cover huge areas. The proper solution of these problems made possible to determine the corresponding directions in building the armed forces and preparing them and the country at large for a possible future war. All this was reflected in the military doctrine of the Soviet state.

Resolving the problems of the development of the country's economy and of strengthening its defense capability, the Communist Party and Soviet government were guided by the familiar concepts formulated by Engels that "nothing depends more on economic conditions than precisely the army and navy. Armaments, composition, organization, tactics, and strategy depend, above all, on the level of production and means of communication reached at that moment" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch," Vol 20, p 171). The industrialization of the country, agricultural collectivization, and cultural revolution, achieved within a historically short time, insured the conversion of our country from a backward agrarian into a progressive industrial state. A powerful domestic aviation, tank, and other defense industry sectors were created. The production of modern types of armaments and combat materiel rose considerably. Thus, as early as 1938, compared with 1930-1931, the annual production of tanks has tripled while that of guns and airplanes had increased over six-fold. All this made possible the implementation of a broad program for the technical rearmament of the army and navy.

The elaboration of the theory of a profound operation and battle became the most important accomplishment of Soviet military science in the pre-war years. Basically it consisted of substantiating the possibility for simultaneously suppressing the enemy's defenses along their entire depth through artillery fire and aviation strikes, achieving a decisive breach of the enemy's tactical defense zone through the use of massed forces and means along chosen directions, and the headlong development of tactical success by operatively committing to battle powerful mobile large units of tanks, motorized infantry, and cavalry, and airborne landings. The theory of an operation in depth was comprehensively tested in the course of numerous exercises and maneuvers, and became the basis of the operative and combat training of troops and staffs.

On the eve of the Great Patriotic War we had also elaborated the necessary concepts governing the building of the armed forces, insuring their organizational strengthening, proper ratios, and possibility for their fast mobilization deployment. The conversion from the previously used mixed

territorial-cadre system for staffing the armed forces to a single cadre system was an important step in this direction. As a result, towards the end of the 1930's, the number of cadre divisions nearly tripled. The change of the principle of staffing the army brought about a substantial reorganization of the territorial military administration organs, both centrally and locally.

Along with the growth of technical facilities and the broadening of the social base for staffing the army and navy, the methods for the conduct of military operations developed. The organizational structure of the troops was changed and the training and education system of the military personnel was improved.

Assessing the level of development of our military science on the eve of the Great Patriotic War and, subsequently, the results of the practical application of its laws and concepts on the battlefields, we may draw the conclusion that in many aspects it was superior to bourgeois military science and that, as a whole, it provided a solid theoretical foundation for resolving the practical problems related to the defense of the Soviet state.

When the Great Patriotic War broke out the huge scale of combats and the stressed and constantly changing conditions for the conduct of combat operations faced Soviet military science with new complex problems which required immediate solutions. The daily practice of the armed struggle became the main source for its development.

Whereas at the initial period priority was given to problems related to the organization and conduct of an active defense against superior enemy forces along the entire strategic front, subsequently the elaboration of problems of strategic offensive became the dominant feature. The Great Patriotic War provided rich experience in the organization and mounting of counter-attacks and of strategic offensive operations under the direct leadership of the supreme command. In the course of the war the elaboration and practical conduct of front line operations were completed. A form of strategic offensives such as the operation involving groups of fronts was born and given extensive theoretical substantiation and practical application. Such operations covered areas up to 1,000 kilometers long along the front line and hundreds of kilometers in depth, including the coordinated actions of large units and formations of all branches of the armed forces and arms. It is easy to see that this was an essentially new phenomenon in the military art.

The proper choice of directions of the main strikes and times of conversion to offensive, the skillful creation of powerful strike groups, and the flexible utilization of a variety of means for the conduct of combat operations with a view to surrounding big enemy groups, the formation of strong reserves, clearly organized interaction, the effective control system, secrecy in the preparation of operations, and their comprehensive support contributed to the successes achieved by our forces. In the course of the

war a number of problems on the use of artillery and aviation were developed. This was manifested most vividly in artillery and airforce offensives. The theory and practice of the use of naval forces were developed substantially.

The war required the reorganization of the military economy and the rear lines of the armed forces. In a number of cases this raised entirely new problems which had not been theoretically developed in pre-war times and which had to be resolved under complex conditions. The party headed the relocation of production forces and their reorganization and development in the eastern parts of the Soviet Union. The country's full resources were mobilized for military purposes. Military-economic and military-technical problems such as the production of new grades of steel and other materials assumed great significance. The scale and intensiveness of efforts to develop new types and kinds of armaments and military equipment rose considerably. Within a short time this enabled us to outstrip fascist Germany in the production of such items. Problems of the organization of the rear and of the material and technical support of the troops were resolved successfully as well.

The Great Patriotic War confirmed, yet once again, the correctness of the views which had developed in the past in our time on the organization of the strategic leadership. With a view to insuring unity among the political, governmental, and military leadership, the State Committee for Defense (GKO) and Supreme Command Headquarters were created. The military-political tasks and nature and procedure governing the utilization of the armed forces in the war were formulated by the party's Central Committee and the GKO. The strategic leadership of the armed forces was provided by the Supreme Command Headquarters which relied on its operative organ--the General Staff. A control method such as the Main Command of Soviet Forces in the Far East, heading the armed forces in the struggle against militaristic Japan, proved its usefulness, and so did the Glavuproform [Main Formations Directorate], set up in August 1941 by the People's Commissariat of Defense, which directly guided the work in the armed forces related to the raising of new all-arms formations and large units and supplying them with the necessary combat materiel and armaments.

It was thus that in the course of the Great Patriotic War Soviet military science and all its components and, above all, the theory of military art, creatively mastering the richest possible combat experience, took a new major step forward in their development.

Describing the factors which insured the universal-historical victory of our people in the Patriotic War, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev noted that this was also a victory of Soviet military science, and of the combat skill of all the arms and the art of Soviet military leaders who emerged from the people. The victory gained by the Soviet Union had a tremendous impact on the development of mankind and contributed to radical changes in the ratio of forces in the world arena in favor of socialism.

However, this could not be tolerated by international imperialism. In an effort to stop the insurmountable process of the revolutionary renovation of the world it took the path of preparations for new wars, the creation of aggressive military blocs, nuclear blackmail, and urging on the arms race. Under those circumstances the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist comity had to devote great efforts to organize the reliable protection of the socialist gains. In the post-war period this problem had to be resolved under the conditions of a real revolution in military affairs created by the appearance of nuclear missiles and their extensive supply to the armies of the most developed countries in the world. Scientific and technical progress and the increased economic possibilities of the countries led to the increased intensiveness of the renovation of means for the armed struggle, the development of qualitatively new types of weapons and materiel, and the improvement of conventional "classical" means of struggle and the drastic upgrading of their combat possibilities.

The radical changes in the deployment of military-political forces in the international arena, the rapid changes of generations of arms and mass supplies to the troops of new types of weapons and materiel called for a profound theoretical interpretation of events and for the elaboration of practical recommendations in the interest of the further strengthening of the defense capability of the USSR and the combat power of the Soviet armed forces and of the armies of the members of the socialist comity.

Our military science entered a qualitatively new stage of development. Many theoretical concepts of military art and army and navy structure were critically revised in the elaboration of new concepts based on scientific research, the study of the experience gained in the war, and the post-war exercises and maneuvers. The optimal combination of new with already existing views on the preparation of the country and its armed forces for war and of means for the conduct of military operations was found.

Thus, covering the difficult path since its birth and establishment, Soviet military science has now developed as a system of knowledge of the nature and laws of war and the preparation of the armed forces and the country for war aimed at protecting the gains of socialism and of methods for waging war. Together with other sciences it studies war as a complex socio-political phenomenon. The armed struggle is the main object of its research.

The most important components of Soviet military science are the theory of the marshall art, the theory of military construction, the theory of military training and education, and the theory of the war economy and the rear. Based on Marxism-Leninism and, above all, the Marxist-Leninist theory of war and armed forces, military science is dialectically linked with the other social, natural, and technical sciences whose conclusions serve the strengthening of the defense capability of the country, the creation of modern armament systems, and the all-round preparations for the conduct of the armed struggle for the defense of the socialist fatherland. Military history plays an important role in the study and summation of the experience of past wars and in the study of the laws governing the development of military art.

Soviet military science as a whole and all its components are being continually improved with the development of the socialist society and of military affairs.

III.

The intensive development of scientific research and the enhanced role of science in social life are characteristic of the contemporary period. The 25th CPSU Congress stipulated that "the main task of Soviet science is the further expansion and intensification of the study of the laws of nature and society and upgrading its contribution to the solution of the topical problems of building the material and technical foundations for communism." This fully applies to Soviet military science. Despite detente, achieved thanks to the gigantic efforts of our party, the imperialist states are continuing to strengthen aggressive military blocs, and modernizing their armed forces, spending huge amounts on armaments. In the course of developing means of warfare we note a further advancement of existing weapons systems and the elaboration of new prototypes and military equipment not only on the basis of the familiar but of basically new physical principles, possessing even greater destructive and striking features.

The Soviet Union is a firm opponent of the arms race. However, faced with the aggressive imperialist aspirations, it is forced to respond with defensive measures. "We," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said during his visit of the Pacific Fleet, "are improving our defense with the only objective of reliably defending the gains of the Great October Revolution, and firmly protecting the peaceful toil of the Soviet people and of our friends and allies."

Marxism-Leninism is a reliable compass in the study of the various phenomena related to improving the defense of the state. It is the basis for the development of progressive military theory. Dialectical materialism is its initial methodological base. The use of its laws in military-scientific knowledge, and the consideration of all phenomena of a war in their interrelationship and interdependence make it possible to determine and establish the specific types of contradictions, forms of struggle between opposites, conversion of quantitative into qualitative changes, and interrelations between old and new, thus properly approaching the determination of the specific characteristics of the laws of war and military affairs.

Soviet military science approaches the definition of the possible nature of a war from the positions of the dialectical understanding of universal relations. Military operations in different areas (on the ground, the air, and the sea) are conducted through the joint efforts of all the branches of the armed forces in the interests of achieving a single objective--victory over a possible enemy. Dialectically, neglecting this requirement could lead to one-sided judgments and conclusions and to the exaggeration of the role of one or another branch of the armed forces or form of strategic operations to the detriment of the others.

Dialectics calls for considering objects and phenomena not only in their interrelationship and interdependence but continuing development as well. This equally applies to military science. The views which have developed in one or another area of military knowledge are not eternal. They change with our knowledge and the development of military affairs, and together with changes in objective circumstances. Therefore, one of the tasks of military science is attentively to follow this development and, on this basis, formulate theoretical conclusions and elaborate practical recommendations for preparing the country and its armed forces to ward off a possible aggression.

The basic idea of the dialectic understanding of the development of military affairs and, consequently, of military science, is expressed by the law of unity and struggle of opposites. It is precisely the struggle of opposites that is the source, the motive force of development of the entire variety of phenomena of the armed struggle and of war as a whole. Lenin emphasized that "in the strict sense dialectics is the study of contradictions within the very essence of objects" ("Poln Sobr Soch" [Complete Collected Works], Vol 29, p 227).

By its very nature the armed struggle is contradictory. Contradictions within the armed struggle represent, above all, contradictions between the enemies and their strategic objectives, offense and defense, concentration of the forces and means on limited areas in order to establish superiority in the direction of the strikes and the possibility of a strike against them, the need of the armed forces for expensive weapons and equipment and the economic possibilities of the state, and so on.

The history of war convincingly proves, for example, the existence of the permanent contradiction between means of attack and defense. The appearance of new means of attack has always led to the creation of corresponding themes for counteraction. In the final account, this has led to finding new means for waging battles and combats, and conduct of operations. Thus, with the fast development of tanks, aviation, and submarines, anti-tank, anti-aircraft, anti-submarine weapons and corresponding defense methods were developed.

This fully applies to nuclear missiles whose fast development motivated military-scientific thinking and practice actively to develop ways and means to counter them. In turn, the appearance of new means for defense against mass destruction weapons gave a new impetus to improving means of nuclear missile attack. All this confirms the conclusion that the age-old duel between attack and defense weapons is one of the reasons for the development of means for struggle and, with them, ways for the conduct of military operations.

Today the dialectical contradiction in a complex process such as guidance of armed forces becomes very clear. Under the conditions of the ever growing

dynamism of combat operations and none typical combat circumstances, commanders and staffs must display greater flexibility and operative command. However, their possibilities, based on the old control methods, can no longer meet such requirements. In this respect the automation of troop management, based on computers, plays a great role. In turn, success in the use of automated control systems calls for raising the level of military-technical standards of commanders, a scientific organization of the work of staffs, and efficient communications at all levels.

The study and determination of contradictions in military reality is the most important condition for the progress of military science whose task is to determine the trends of development of contradictions and, on this basis, establish the general direction of processes followed in the development of military affairs.

Dialectics enables us to establish not only the sources but the mechanism of development and to determine its course. The nature and forms of improvement of the armed forces and the means for their conduct of military operations and the solutions of other military problems are established by military science on the basis of the dialectical law of the conversion of changes from quantitative to qualitative.

This law teaches us that the development of all phenomena takes place through the gradual accumulation of quantitative changes and their conversion, at a given stage, into basic qualitative changes. The effect of this law in military affairs is manifested with particular clarity in the development of the methods for conducting the armed struggle.

The development of new weapons and military equipment, as we pointed out, entails the reorganization of methods for the conduct of military operations. However, this does not occur immediately following the appearance of new weapons but only when they begin to be applied in quantities leading to qualitative changes. As long as new weapons and combat materiel are used in limited amounts, they most frequently adapt themselves to the existing means of the armed struggle or, at best, introduce in such means a few partial changes.

We know, for example, that tanks and airplanes appeared as early as World War One. However, by virtue of their insignificant number and imperfection, they were unable to bring about qualitative changes in the nature of combat operations. Subsequently, when on the eve of and during World War Two, the mass production of tanks and airplanes was organized and carried out, and when new branches and arms were created within the armed forces--the air force and tank troops--the nature of the organization and conduct of battle and of operations changed drastically, qualitatively above all. This led to the appearance of new ways and means of combat operations and substantially influenced their course and outcome.

Under contemporary conditions the fast quantitative growth of nuclear missile weapons and their extensive application in all branches of the armed forces led to the elimination of the previous views on means for waging a battle and conducting operations and the armed struggle as a whole. Following the creation of strategic nuclear forces, for the first time in the entire history of war, the strategic command acquired at its disposal means which could immediately hit the aggressor with a powerful counter-strike anywhere in the world.

The development and improvement of military affairs are effected not only by changes in the material and technical base of the armed struggle. The qualitative changes in the army and navy personnel also have an essential influence on all aspects of military affairs. Thus, the deep socio-political, spiritual, and cultural changes in the life of the Soviet society, the leadership of the Communist Party, the Marxist-Leninist training of our military cadres, and the high moral-combat qualities of the personnel create the best possible conditions for the successful development, mastery, and skillful utilization of new combat materiel and weapons and the implementation of radical changes in military affairs.

Yet, the law of the conversion of quantitative into qualitative changes calls for an attentive attitude toward changes which occur in the armament of the troops, their organizational structure, the amount of new types of weapons and military equipment they receive, and the timely determination of quality prospects based on such quantitative changes. More than ever before it is important today to determine not empirically but scientifically the proper ratios among the different branches of the armed forces and arms, the quantitative and qualitative indicators of the different weapons systems and military materiel, and the distribution of armed forces among the theaters of military operations.

Development trends in military affairs are discovered by military science on the basis of the dialectical law of negation of the negation. Describing the nature of this law, Lenin wrote that dialectical negation does not represent "simple negation...but negation as an aspect of ties, an aspect of development in which the positive is retained" ("Poln Sobr Soch," Vol 29, p 207).

On the one hand, the development of military affairs offers numerous examples of the elimination of obsolete factors hindering further progress while retaining existing foundations. The evolution of the organizational structure of the troops offers a clear example of this. As we know, organizational units such as regiments, divisions, and corps, were developed long ago and still exist. Their organizational structure has been subjected to constant improvements depending on the development of the means of armed struggle through the negation of obsolete elements in the forms of organization in order to promote the fuller and more effective utilization of the combat qualities of the new weapons and military equipment while retaining the

foundations of the organizational structure. Thus, a modern motorized infantry division, while retaining the overall base of a divisional structure of the period of the Great Patriotic War, is radically different from it through its combat possibilities. The overall power developed by its motorized facilities has increased 20 times while its firepower has increased over 30 times.

Another form of negation is the rejection of the very base of something that exists and the development of a new quality on an essentially different basis, for no modifications could yield any longer the desired results. Thus, smooth-bore weapons appeared in Europe in the 14th Century and were used for several centuries. The tempestuous development of industry and science in the 19th Century led to the development of threaded firearms. Because of their higher combat qualities, they eliminated almost entirely the smooth-bore arms. In other words, one type of weapons was negated by another. After World War Two, however, the armies and navies began to receive on an ever growing scale entirely new types of weapons--smooth-bore (jet systems, anti-tank guided projectiles, and missiles of all kinds). With their high combat and maneuverability qualities, they are already beginning to replace and even eliminate threaded weapons. In other words, we are observing the effect of the Marxist dialectical law, the existence of a dialectical chain of negations, in the course of which one type of weapons is negated by another while the latter, in turn, is negated by a newly developed one.

A similar situation is taking place with the development of the branches of armed forces and arms. Thus, the main striking force of the feudal armies of the European countries were the mounted knights in which the riders wore armour while the horses were protected by metal. Following the invention of firearms when, to use Engels' graphic expression, "the bullets of Burger weapons pierced the knights's armour," this cavalry lost its striking force and was negated. It was replaced by cavalry deprived of heavy protection. It became more mobile and flexible and the existence of firearms enabled it to fight both as cavalry and as infantry. In World War One and, particularly, in the civil war, it was extensively used in mounting successful offensives, for defense counter-strikes, and for actions in the enemy rear and the destruction of enemy communications. However, following the appearance of rapid fire automatic weapons and with the tempestuous development of airplanes and tanks, the role of the cavalry began to decline sharply. In World War Two it could no longer display its former qualities. As an arm cavalry had exhausted its possibilities. Therefore, it was entirely natural that it was replaced by a new arm--armoured tank and mechanized troops operating on a qualitatively different technical basis and possessing strong firepower, armour, and high maneuverability. In other words, a negation of the negation took place. However, naturally, the negation process does not end with this. As we know, today corresponding means for anti-tank struggle are being tempestuously developed. They have already reached such a quantitative and qualitative condition which would require the attentive study of their development trends and consequences.

The effect of the law of negation of the negation may be clearly traced also by taking the navy as an example. The navy covered the distance from rowing ships to sail ships and from sail ships to steam and diesel and, finally, modern nuclear ships.

Therefore, the process of development of military affairs offers an innumerable number of various examples of the manifestation of dialectical laws. The content of this process includes surmounting what is old and obsolete and asserting the new, the accumulation of positive experience, and its critical processing in accordance with changed circumstances. Based on the law of negation of the negation, military science must consider each process as a link within the chain of the progressive development of military affairs and determine the ways for the reorganization of current facilities accordingly.

IV

It was noted at the 25th Party Congress that the acceleration of scientific and technical progress remains the prime task today. In the CPSU Central Committee Accountability Report to the congress Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized that "the revolution in science and technology requires radical changes in the style and methods of economic activities, a decisive struggle against sluggishness and routine, true respect for science, and the ability and desire to seek its advice and take it into consideration." The decisions of the 25th Congress and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's instructions guide Soviet military science as well.

The steady development of means of warfare, changes in military-political circumstances, constant improvements in military art, and the growth of military-economic and scientific potentials inevitably demand of military science profound research, the search for the new, and the prediction of the course of events. Naturally, while displaying courage in improving and reorganizing what exists we should not allow haste but undertake new developments only when they are ready.

The sensible struggle of opinions in science, creative discussions, unity of theoretical and practical activities, and proper combination of the principles of one-man command and joint leadership in the elaboration of decisions greatly contribute to the scientific solution of problems related to military affairs. The creative comparison of views must be based on our common Marxist-Leninist ideological platform, and on the strict observance of the principle of party-mindedness in military science. This is a reliable obstacle blocking all types of subjectivism and dogmatism.

The interests of the further development of Soviet military science requires the optimal combination of basic with applied research. Using their results, military science must formulate the new directions and means for the further strengthening of the defense capability of our country and the entire socialist comity, and the upgrading of the combat power and combat readiness of the

armed forces. It is resolving these responsible problems in close contact with the social, natural, and technical sciences. New forms of advancement of scientific research in military training institutions, and the scientific establishments of the USSR Ministry of Defense are being developed. Their cooperation is strengthening with the USSR Academy of Sciences, scientific-research institutes, design bureaus, and other scientific centers not only in our country but in the other socialist states. The comprehensive study of military-political, military-theoretical, military-technical, and military-historical problems is achieved through joint efforts.

The present condition of our military science is consistent with present requirements. It has highly skilled scientific cadres of generals, admirals, and officers working in scientific research institutions and military academies. The command, political, and engineering, and technical army and navy cadres extensively participate in theoretical developments, while the daily practical combat and political training of the troops offers possibilities for testing many of its concepts.

Our military science is making a worthy contribution to strengthening the defense capability of the socialist state and the implementation by the Soviet armed forces of the responsible assignments protecting the fatherland. It enables us to see the future development of military affairs, and define accurately and clearly the main ways for the advancement and the implementation of the specific tasks facing the army and the navy.

Guided by the Communist Party, equipped with first class materiel and armaments, having mastered to perfection the science and art of victory, the USSR armed forces are vigilantly guarding the peaceful toil of the Soviet people confidently following the path to communism.

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'THERE ARE NO MINORITIES AMONG THE WORKERS . . .'

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 7, May 1978 pp 122-127

[Article by V. Mal'kov]

[Text] Fifty years have passed since the death of William Dudley Haywood (1869-1928)--"Big Bill"--the outstanding revolutionary-internationalist, and noted figure of the American and international labor movements, and acknowledged leader of the leftwing in the U.S. trade union movement of the first quarter of the 20th Century. Ever since Haywood, a 15 year old adolescent, went down a mineshaft in the state of Nevada, he dedicated his entire being to the struggle for the defense of the interests of the working class, against the bosses, and against the entire system of capitalist exploitation, as well as against the "labor leaders," who took the path of class betrayal and division. Haywood, wrote Elizabeth Gurly Flinn, former chairman of the National Committee of the U.S. Communist Party, who knew him well, was the living symbol of the broadest political and class unity of the working people, the type of unity which knows no discrimination based on the artificial division into privileged and lower strata, whites and coloreds, "one's own" and "outsiders."

The events of May 1886, which marked the beginning of the great international tradition of the international working class--the celebration of the day of international solidarity of the working people--played an exceptionally important role in molding Haywood's personality and political views. The "Chicago tragedy," whose prologue was the shooting of strikers at the McCormick Plant on 3 May, and the explosion of a bomb by a provocatur on 4 May, during the meeting on Haymarket Square, and whose epilogue was the execution of a group of labor leaders, heads of the movement for an eight hour work day, condemned by an illegal court, left an indelible impression in his mind. The monstrous trial in Chicago and the act of class reprisal against A. Parsons, A. (Shpis), D. Engel, A. Fischer, S. (Filden), Ch. Schwab, L. Ling, and O. (Nibe), led once and for all the young Haywood into the ranks of the fighters against a system whose anti-humane nature could not be concealed by any juridical formula of political emancipation. Many years later, looking at his past, Haywood wrote in his auto-biography: "I

can not forget the final words of August (Shpis): 'A time will come when our silence will be more eloquent than our speeches.' This was a turning point in my life" ("Bill Haywood's book. The Autobiography of William D. Haywood." New York, 1929, p 31).

Haywood's entire life and activities as head of the revolutionary wing of the U.S. trade union movement, and the strong and weak aspects of his outlook were closely related to his national soil and national traditions. Yet, he always displayed mature internationalist thinking and a highly developed feeling of international duty which did not abandon him in the most complex situations and, frequently, facing mortal danger. Such was the case in the course of the violent debates within the international social democratic movement on the question of separatism; such was the case in the "cowardly time" of World War One of 1914-1918, and at the turning point of the birth of the first state of proletarian dictatorship in the world. " . . . There are no minorities among the workers," Haywood said, speaking in New York, in 1912. "The only minority according to the working class is that of the capitalists . . . " ("The Emergence of an American Left." Edited by R. Laurence Moore. New York, 1973, p 143).

Each step taken by Haywood in the public ground was accompanied by severe trials. He experienced the severe training of the class struggle in the ranks of the Western Miners' Federation, born, as Haywood himself said, in jail. Recalling these days, Haywood was unable to cite a single case in which an action taken by the workers in defense of their right interests and civil freedoms would not involve blood shedding and the fierce mockery of mine owners who were protecting their privileges with the help of "bayonets, Maxim machine guns, the navy, the army, the national guard, the secret service, plainclothesmen, and the police . . ." (ibid., p 143).

Haywood played a leading role in the creation of the organization of the Industrial Workers of the World which, within a short time, became the center of gravity for all progressive elements in the U.S. labor movement. He chaired the constituent congress of the IWW which opened on 27 June 1905, and his opening address factually assumed the importance of a statement of principles of the "new trade unionism."

He said: "This is the congress of the working class of the entire continent. We have gathered here to unite the workers of our country in a common movement whose objective is the liberation of the working class from slavish obedience to capitalism. There is no (in the United States--the author) single organization or single workers' organization who has set as its objective the one for which you have been summoned here today. The tasks and objectives of this organization must be to give to the working class economic power, means to live, and control over the production and distribution machinery, regardless of the owners-capitalists. The American Federation of Labor, which considers itself as the representative of the labor movement in our country, is not a class organization of the workers. It does not represent the entire working class. There are organizations

within the AFL, yet losely linked with it, whose bylaws and individual stipulations ban the acceptance of the colored and do not include any obligations toward them; they ban the assumption of any obligations toward foreign workers as well. We wish to create the type of labor organization which would widely open its doors to anyone who has to work--doing mental or physical labor--for a living . . . No single person with a drop of honesty in him could refute the fact that a constant struggle is being waged between the two classes. Our organization will be based on the principles of the class struggle with no compromised and concessions; its only objective and purpose to see to it that the workers in our country receive the full value of the result of their toil."

Established in an atmosphere of revolutionary upsurge, whose peak the first Russian Revolution of 1905-1907 became, the IWW wrote many vivid pages in the chronicles of the class battles of the American proletariat. In 1920 V. I. Lenin wrote that the IWW is a profoundly proletarian and mass movement "based in fact on the grounds of the basic principles of the Communist International" ("Poln Sobr Soch" [Complete Collected Works], Vol 41, p 200). W. Haywood was its leader ever since the IWW was organized.

Despite all difficulties, anarcho-syndicalist enthusiasms, and tactical errors, within a short time the IWW was able to win over the broad toiling masses. That was precisely why the ruling class and the entire coercive machinery of the bourgeois state, ranging from the federal departments for the defense of "public order" to the local "supporters of the whip and the stick," literally from the very first days of existence of the IWW, subjected the organization to fierce persecutions. This was a war of annihilation, a merciless war with no legal justifications whatever. Detention and prison awaited the members of the IWW at every step. The martyrology of those killed, shot, and tortured by lynchers among the activists and noted leaders of the organization numbered in the dozens and even in the hundreds. It is no simple coincidence at all that several months after the first IWW congress W. Haywood with two of his comrades was arrested and locked up in the hard labor prison of Boise (Idaho). The reason was a hastily fabricated charge of "conspiracy" and murder.

The famous trial of the Haywood, Moyer, and Pettibone "case," in 1907, had tremendous international repercussions. While Haywood was wasting away in death row (it was precisely there that he had been put even before the trial), awaiting sentencing for a crime he had not committed, the conscious workers the world over and, with them, the entire progressive public opinion, watched with the greatest of tensions the outcome of the clash between the labor leader and the hirelings of the coal and copper barons in their judicial wigs. In April 1906 Maksim Gor'kiy, who was in the United States at that time, sent the following cable to Haywood and Moyer: "Greetings, brothers-socialists! Courage! The day of justice and liberation of the oppressed the world over is near. Brotherly yours forever M. Gor'kiy." Haywood and Moyer answered from jail: "Brother! The class struggle is being waged throughout the world; it is the same in America and Russia and truly turns us into brothers. Give our best wishes to our fellow workers in your homeland. Our hearts are with you. Accept our fraternal greeting."

The International Socialist Congress in Stuttgart was among the first to react to the verdict of innocent reached by the jury. In August 1907 it sent a special greeting to Haywood, written by Lenin, and signed by him and other members of the congress' presidium. The greeting stated: "On behalf of the socialist movement the world over the International Congress wishes William Haywood success in the great struggle he has waged in the interest of the organized workers in the United States. The congress energetically condemns the attempt of the mine owners to condemn an innocent person exclusively for his services to the organized proletariat. The congress sees in the trial and the systematic slanderous campaign launched against Haywood by the entire capitalist press, the ever more clearly revealed class policy of the American bourgeoisie and its total lack of tolerance and a feeling of honor whenever its profits and power are threatened" (V. I. Lenin, "Poln Sobr Soch," Vol 47, p 300).

The bourgeois terrorism particularly intensified after the IWW rejected the idea of the United States' entry into the First World War, describing it as a war of imperialist predators for the division of foreign markets. The moment the IWW issued its warning, in February 1917, that "American capitalists! We shall fight against you and not for you!" that the organization was classified among the most dangerous "subversive" organizations subject to destruction regardless of legal and moral considerations. In 1917 the Kansas City newspaper wrote: "In order to defeat Germany we must first strangle the IWW. Kill them like snakes. Do not try to stun them. Kill them and put an end to it. We have no time to waste money on trials and judicial red tape. All that is necessary is proof and an order to the soldiers to fire" (C. R. Koppes, "The Kansas Trial of the IWW, 1917-1919." LABOR HISTORY, Summer 1975, Vol 16, No 3, p 349).

In the circumstances of the "Red Panic" and the anti-radical hysteria in the country, inflated by the ruling class after October 1917 with a view to preventing the dissemination of the ideals of the socialist revolution, the IWW became one of the main targets of the broadest possible persecution directed against leftwing and progressive forces. This is largely explained by the fact that the IWW and most of its leaders, headed by W. Haywood, enthusiastically welcomed the news of the victory of the Russian proletariat. "This is something we dreamed about," Haywood said ("Bill Haywood's book. The Autobiography of William D. Haywood," p 360). The political police, the prosecution, and the courts worked at full capacity, fabricating accusations and staging "show trials" wherever the activities of the IWW and the leftwing had reached, in the view of the local guardians, a "dangerous" level. The priests serving the bourgeois Themis did not shy from fantastic fabrication or forgeries or else appeals to groundless fears and philistine prejudices. There were trials in Sacramento (California), Wichita (Kansas), Omaha (Nebraska), and Chicago . . .

According to the overall scenario, the Chicago trial played the main role. It was here that in April 1918 101 IWW activists, including the leaders of the organization, headed by Haywood, were tried. The judicial farce lasted

over five months. The list of the most "horrible crimes" committed by the IWW included anti-war propaganda, exposure of the predatory nature of the imperialist war and, naturally, agitation in favor of socialism. Justice C. M. Landis, who presided over the trial, wearing not the traditional robe but the business suit of a merchant, was the living embodiment of the class affiliation of American bourgeois justice and cynical neglect of the truth. John Reed, who was present at the trial, wrote that Landis' entire appearance, each one of his movements, were filled with hostility toward the labor leaders. However, Haywood considered as most disgraceful the persistent "reminders" that the IWW were people without kith and kin, "trouble-makers," carried by God knows what winds on virgin American soil, and to whom high patriotic motivations were allegedly alien. According to the peculiar logic of the charges, it appeared that class solidarity among the international proletariat and unity within its ranks in the struggle against the common enemy--capital--and the war it had unleashed were incompatible with a feeling of love for homeland and respect for national holies. In both his speeches in court and the letter he sent from jail to Landis (dated 5 December 1918, this letter until recently had remained unknown and excerpts from it are published here for the first time), Haywood refuted these fabrications, proving that the revolutionaries-internationalists are motivated by true patriotism and love of mankind of the highest type which makes possible to understand the mechanism of social development and its main trends and motive forces.

In Haywood's words, his attitude toward the war was based not merely on the feeling of hatred for the cruelty of mass killings but, above all, by understanding the "nature of the war, the economic reasons which create merciless slaughters . . ." those who fight with him shoulder to shoulder, rejecting the imperialist war "as an institution," Haywood stated, would like to consider this as the last of all wars. They link their most profound motivations with the fact that the end result of the universal bloodshed will be the establishment of a new social system--a "universal industrial democracy" and fraternity among nations. (William D. Haywood to Elizabeth Serviss, September 5, 1918; Fox Collection, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University, Detroit).

Making a public statement on his political convictions which, naturally, had nothing in common with a theory of a "pro-German conspiracy," Haywood perfectly realized that reasonable arguments will not be heard by the judicial authorities. The fate of the defendants had been predetermined. He proved to be right. Most of them were sentenced to jail terms ranging from 5 to 15 years. The jail sentences for Haywood and the other IWW leaders were 20 years. All in all, the defendants were sentenced to a total of 802 years in jail and a fine of \$2.5 million. To Haywood Landis' verdict was the equivalent of a death sentence. His health undermined over the years of struggle, privations, and jail, would not have withstood yet another lengthy physical torture in jail. Taking this into consideration, Haywood's friends and fellow workers insisted that he emigrate. On 31 March 1921 W. Haywood secretly reached Soviet Russia with a mandate as a delegate to the first congress of the Trade Union International.

The homeland of the socialist revolution became Haywood's second homeland. Pre-May Day Moscow welcomed him as a hero, as a firm fighter for the ideals of liberated labor. He was applauded by the delegates to the Third Komintern Congress (22 June-12 July 1921), addressed by Haywood.

Haywood left the American shores at a time when the entire Western press, as though ordered, proclaimed the desperate situation and imminent fall of the Soviet system. The scale of this disinformation operation made everything previously known pale (see V. I. Lenin, "Poln Sobr Soch," Vol 43, pp 122-125). Naturally, this made the anticipation of the meeting in Moscow particularly strong. Probably, it was precisely for this reason that one of Haywood's strongest impressions after everything he had experienced and the lengthy and risky trip, were his impressions of the first day of his stay in the capital of Soviet Russia. What a contrast there was between daily life in Moscow, filled with toil and holiday excitement, and the dark pictures depicted by the "big American press." From a jail inmate in County Cook, a man condemned to slow death in revenge for his loyalty to the ideals of free labor and proletarian internationalism, Haywood became a witness and direct participant in the fourth revolutionary spring with its active days and enthusiasm.

In its 4 May 1921 issue, in an article on the celebration of May Day in Moscow, PRAVDA reported the big meeting held on Red Square with the participation of a group of workers who had emigrated from America. In all streets and squares of the capital, the newspaper wrote, "one felt the high upsurge and mood, entirely consistent with the style, purpose, and spirit of a truly proletarian labor holiday."

Today we have proof of the uplift which the initial contact with Soviet reality triggered in Haywood, with the new world, still weak, resolving problems of incredible difficulty yet living a rich and dynamic life, aimed at the future. This condition of confidence in the strength of the gains of the Russian working people and the happy recognition of the visible features and shoots of real socialism are found in his 18 May 1921 letter from Moscow.* The letter reads: "I could write endlessly about everything I have seen and heard here in this beautiful country and of its even more beautiful people . . . Could you imagine living in a country where the workers control everything and manage everything? One must come to a country in which, within its borders, the people own everything--railroads, automobiles, and hotels, and in which all the needy are given clothing."

*As the already mentioned 5 September 1918 letter, the 18 May 1921 letter was submitted relatively recently for safe keeping to the W. Reuter Library in Detroit (William D. Haywood to Elizabeth Serviss, May 18, 1921. Fox Collection, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University, Detroit).

Profoundly impressed by his talk with Lenin and other Soviet leaders, Haywood wrote: "The IWW members enjoy great respect here. Many of them hold responsible positions and are very useful both as fighters and workers." The letter also mentions participation in the work of the fourth All-Russian Congress of Trade Unions, which opened on 17 May 1921, and at which he was "asked to deliver a speech." Bid Haywood speak, and if yes, what did he speak about? Let us turn again to the press of the time.

On 19 May 1921 PRAVDA reported that "at the first session of the congress there was a lively exchange of greetings with representatives of the foreign revolutionary proletariat. The speaker on behalf of the American IWW said that his organization has broken with the conciliationist Gompers American Federation, and is promoting the basic principles of a revolutionary trade union movement. Noting that not only the further development and success of the Russian Revolution depend on the inflexible struggle and great experience of millions of organized Russian workers, but destiny of the entire labor movement of the world, the speaker requested that the congress give ideological support to thousands of communists and members of the IWW now wasting away in American jails, sending them greetings on behalf of the congress." There is no doubt that this was a speech by Haywood whose name was not mentioned for understandable reasons.

Haywood lived and worked in the Soviet Union until he died. He was one of the founders of the Kuzbass Autonomous Industrial Colony (AIK Kuzbass), which was a vivid example of mutual aid between Soviet and foreign workers who contributed their share of labor in the building of a socialist industry. He actively worked in the MOPR [International Organization for Aid to Fighters for Revolution], and the International Worker's Aid. Haywood fell ill on the eve of the opening of the fourth Trade Union International Congress at which he was scheduled to deliver a speech on the Paris Commune. This was on 16 March 1928 and on 18 May Haywood died. Part of his dust was buried in the Kremlin wall side by side with John Reed's grave. Another part of his dust, according to the wish of the deceased, was sent to Chicago and buried in the Waldheim Cemetery near the common grave of the labor leaders victims of a police provocation and judicial murder of 1887.

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FROM THE BOOKSHELF

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 7, May 1978 p 128

[Text] V. I. Lenin, "O Propagande i Agitatsii" [On Propaganda and Agitation]. Compiled by N. N. Surovtseva and A. G. Khomenko. Politizdat, Moscow, 1978, 240 pages.

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"60 Let Vooruzhennykh Sil SSSR" [60 Years of USSR Armed Forces]. Documents and Materials. Politizdat, Moscow, 1978, 48 pages.

L. I. Brezhnev, "Malaya Zemlya," Politizdat, Moscow, 1978, 48 pages.

L. I. Brezhnev, "Vozrozhdeniye" [Rebirth], Politizdat, Moscow, 1978, 64 pages.

L. I. Brezhnev, "Molodym--Stroit' Kommunizm" [The Young Will Build Communism], third expanded edition, Politizdat, Moscow, 1978, 736 pages.

L. I. Brezhnev, "Rech' na XVIII S'yezde Vsesoyuznogo Leninskogo Kommunisticheskogo Soyuza Molodezhi" [Speech at the 18th Congress of the All-Union Leninist Communist Youth Union], 25 April 1978. Politizdat, Moscow, 1978, 31 pages.

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